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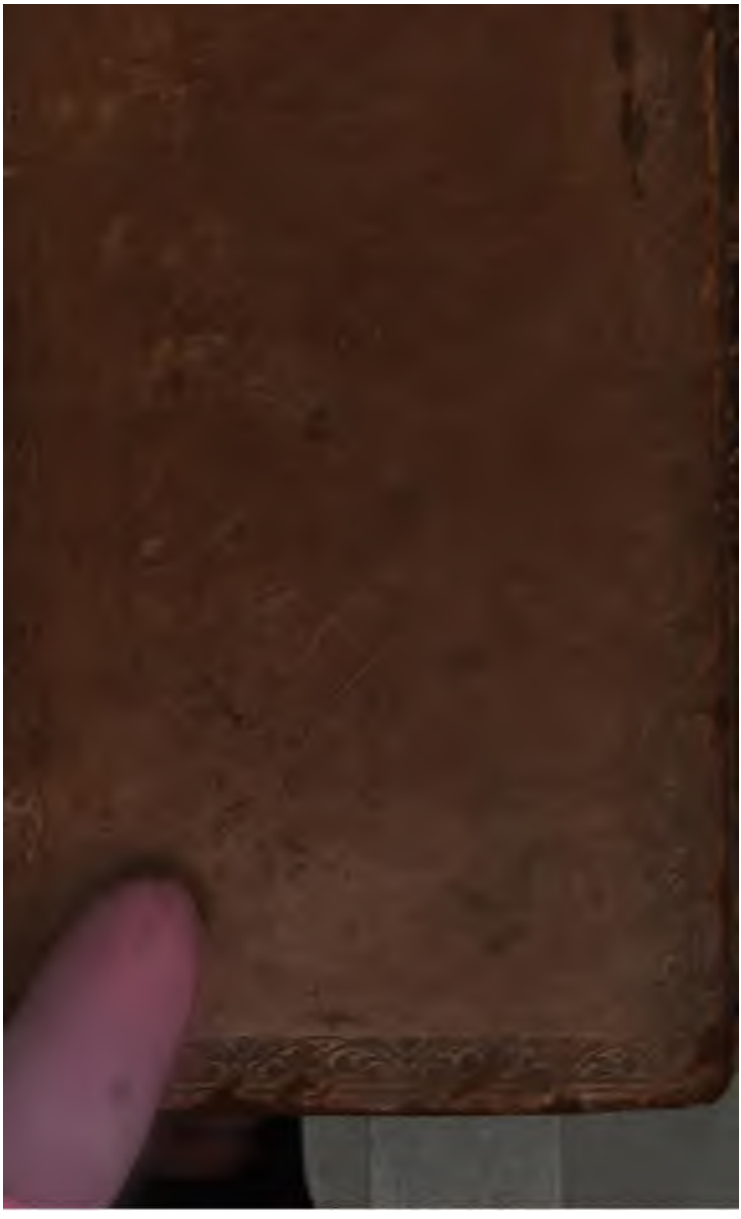

Trenchard, John

CATO's LETTERS.

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CATO's LETTERS.

SIR,

I SHALL beſtow this Paper in conſidering what Dr. *Prideaux* ſays of *Brennus the Gaul*, his Expedition, Death, and Crime. This Man, at the Head of a great Number of his Countrymen, ſent Abroad to ſeek new Habitations, paſſing through *Hungary*, *Illyrium*, and *Macedonia*, plundering, ravaging, and deſtroying as they went, at laſt invaded *Greece*, and "marched "on towards *Delphos*, to plunder the Temple "in that City of the vaſt Riches which were

" there laid up. But he there met a wonder-
" ful Defeat: For on his approaching the
" Place, there happened a terrible Storm of
" Thunder, Lightning, and Hail, which de-
" ſtroyed great Numbers of his Men; and at
" the ſame Time there was as terrible an
" Earthquake, which rending the Mountains
" in Pieces, threw down whole Rocks upon
" them, which overwhelmed them by Hun-
" dreds at a Time; by which the whole Army
" being much diſmayed, they were the follow-
" ing Night ſeized with ſuch a pannick Fear,
" that every Man ſuppoſing him that was next
" to him to be a *Grecian* Enemy, they fell upon
" each other, ſo that before there was Day Light
" enough to make them ſee the Miſtake, one
" half of the Army had deſtroyed the other. By
" all this the *Greeks*, who were now come to-
" gether from all Parts to defend their Temple,
" being much animated, fell furiouſly on them;
" and altho' now *Acichorus* was come up with
" *Brennus*, yet both their Forces together could
" not ſtand the Aſſault; but great Numbers of
" them were ſlain, and great Numbers were
" wounded; and amongſt theſe laſt was *Bren-*
" *nus* himſelf, who had received ſeveral
" Wounds; and altho' none of them were
" mortal, yet ſeeing all now loſt, and the
" whole Expedition, which he had been the
" Author of, thus ended in a diſmal Ruin, he
" was ſo confounded at the Miſcarriage, that
" he reſolved not to out-live it: And therefore
" calling to him as many of the chief Leaders as
" he could get together amidſt that calamitous
" Hurry, he adviſed them to ſlay all the Wound-

" ed,

" ed, and with the Remainder make as good a " Retreat backward as they could; and then " having guzzled down as much Wine as he " could drink, he run himſelf through and " died —The reſt being to march thro' Ene- " my's Countries, they were as they paſſed ſo " diſtreſſed for Want of Proviſions, which " they were every where to fight for, ſo incom- " moded at Night by lodging moſtly upon the " Ground in a Winter Seaſon, and in ſuch a " Manner harraſſed and fallen upon where- " ever they came by the People of thoſe " Countries through which they paſſed, that " what with Famine, Cold, and Sickneſs, and " what with the Sword of their Enemies, they " were all cut off and deſtroyed: So that of " the numerous Company which did firſt ſet " out on this Expedition, not ſo much as one " Man eſcaped the calamitous Fate of miſerably " periſhing in it.

This is the Story of *Brennus*, which I have told in the Doctor's own Words: Now follows his Reflection upon it: " Thus God was pleaſed " in a very extraordinary Manner to execute his " Vengeance upon thoſe ſacrilegious Wretches, " for the Sake of Religion in general, how " falſe and idolatrous ſoever that particular " Religion was, for which that Temple at " *Delphos* was erected. For, to believe a Re- " ligion true, and offer ſacrilegious Violences " to the Places conſecrated to the Devotions of " that Religion, is abſolute Impiety, and a Sin " againſt all Religion; and there are many " Inſtances of very ſignal Judgments with which " God hath puniſhed it even amongſt the worſt

" of Heathens and Infidels; and much more may " they expect it, who having the Truth of " God eſtabliſhed among them, ſhall become " guilty hereof.

If this unhappy End of *Brennus* and his Followers was a Judgment, as doubtleſs this reverend and worthy Author thinks, I cannot ſee why an Intention to pillage a ſtupid Idol of his uſeleſs Wealth and devout Bawbles, given and uſed for the Ends of Idolatry and Deluſion, ſhould be reckoned the Cauſe of it. I would be glad to know how any Part of Mankind would have ſuffered in their Religion or Fortune, tho' the Shrine and Temple of *Apollo* had been ſtript of all their ſuperſtitious and ill-got Finery? or, How God Almighty came to ſhew himſelf thus miraculouſly the Guardian of an Idol, ſet up to rival him, and to deceive the World by uttering oraculous Lies? or, How the taking away of thoſe Riches that were acquired by belying God and deceiving Man, and employed for the Ornament and Support of a blaſphemous Impoſture, could be called Sacrilege or robbing of God, who was really robbed by an Idol of that only which he can be robbed of, divine Worſhip and Homage?

But becauſe People are apt to be miſguided and terrified by Words, eſpecially by ſuch as are applied to Devotion and holy Things, I ſhall here beſtow ſome Reflections upon the awful Word *Sacrilege*, and ſhew that it is but ill underſtood.

Sacrilege, we are told by ſome, ſignifies the robbing or ſtealing from God any Thing which is peculiarly his. Now nothing can be ſtolen from

from God, nor can any Thing be concealed from him. Every Thing being his, it is as much his in the Hands of one Man as in the Hands of another; for, let who will have the Uſe of it, the Property cannot be altered: God who has all Things, can never be put out of the Poſſeſſion of any Thing; and as nothing can be taken from him, ſo neither can any Thing be given to him, becauſe all the World and every Thing in it is already his; and it is abſurd to imagine that any Form of Words, or Change of Place or Poſition, can enlarge or leſſen his Property in any Thing. All that we have, we have from him; and to return him his own Gifts back again, which we want and he does not, is no Compliment, nor any Part of Religion or of Reaſon: It is ſhewing our ſelves wiſer than him, in ſetting apart for his Uſe thoſe Things which he has graciouſly created and ſet apart for ours. Can we feed him? or can we cloth, adorn or enrich him? Can we build him a City to dwell in, or furniſh him with Guards for the Security of his Perſon?

Sacrilege therefore is either the robbing of Men, or no Robbery at all. And this Crime is greater or leſs, according to the Meaſure of Miſchief done. To rob a poor Man of his Loaf, is a greater Crime, in *foro Conſcientiæ*, than to rob a rich Man of an Ox: To rob a Man of a ſmall Part of a Thing that is neceſſary to him, is a greater Crime, than robbing him of a great Superfluity; and if I rob a Man of a Thing that will do him Hurt, I hope I do him leſs an Injury, than if I rob'd him of a Thing which does him Good. But if I take a

Thing which no Man has a Right to, I my ſelf have a Right to it, by poſſeſſing it.

To apply all this to the Buſineſs of Sacrilege; if a Man takes away any of the Books, Veſtments, or Utenſils, made uſe of in Devotion, he only robs the Congregation, who muſt buy more; and many being more able than one to bear this Loſs, the Offence, as to its Effects, is leſs than if he robbed but one Man. But if he takes away from a Heathen Temple, Plate, or hidden Treaſure, laid up there, but not uſed; he indeed does an Action that he has no Right to do, but an Action that however does good to the World, by running into Uſe, that which was of none, or of bad Uſe.

Dead Treaſure, firſt drawn from the People in ſuperſtitious Offerings, and then laid up in a Heathen Temple, and kept and uſed for impious and idolatrous Ends, but never to return again into the World, for the neceſſary Purpoſes of Life and Commerce, is the Plunder of Mankind; and the worſt of all Plunders, becauſe it never circulates; and People are greatly the worſe for it, in Reſpect both of Soul and Body, but never can be the better. It is firſt taking from them, and afterwards denying them, the great and chief Means of Life and Convenience. He therefore, whoever he be, that takes it from thence, let him take it in what manner he will, does a better and more publick Thing, than he who keeps it there.

No Man can be robbed of a Thing in which he has no Property. Of this ſort was *Apollo*'s Wealth; and no body was robbed in taking it away. So that whoever takes away golden Images,

Images, or other dead Wealth, the Means and Objects of falſe Adoration, is guilty of no other Crime, than that of diſturbing erroneous Conſciences: Nor need ſuch Conſciences be much diſturbed, ſince the Crime being committed without their Conſent, they have no ſhare in it. And therefore if ſuch idolatrous Images, and ſuch ſuperſtitious, uſeleſs, and pernicious Riches, be taken away by a lawful Authority, or in a lawful War, it is no Crime at all. So that in every Senſe *Brennus* committed a greater Crime in plundering one Village, than he could have committed had he plundered, as he intended, the Temple of *Delphos*.

If *Brennus* had believed in *Apollo*, he ſinned againſt his Conſcience, in deſigning to rob him. But we do not know that *Brennus*, or thoſe that followed him, believed thus. I do not remember that *Apollo* was the God of the *Gauls*, or that the *Druids* owned him: All Nations agreed not in worſhipping the ſame Gods, but often diſputed about the Quality, Birth, and Precedence of their Gods. And if *Brennus* deſpiſed or diſregarded *Apollo*, he committed no Sacrilege; at leaſt with reſpect to himſelf, it was no Sacrilege, but only Rapine; but if, believing in him, tho' an Idol, he would have ſinned in pillaging him, as doubtleſs he would, here is an Argument, that a good Conſcience may be an erroneous Conſcience; and that if no Man muſt act againſt his own Conſcience, tho' it be erroneous, as doubtleſs he muſt not, then much leſs has any other Man whatſoever a Right to puniſh or diſtreſs him for it. If God approves, who is it that condemns?

And none but God knows the Heart of another.

If *Brennus* had worſhiped *Apollo*, he was guilty of Idolatry, in the Opinion of all Chriſtians: And if he had robbed him, he was guilty of Sacrilege in the Opinion of moſt. Now we hear of no Judgment falling upon thoſe that worſhiped *Apollo*, and ſupported that Idol with ſuperſtitious Donations; all which was Idolatry. And is Idolatry, which God has declared abominable in his Eyes, a leſs Sin than robbing an idolatrous Temple; which Action God has no where declared a Sin? The good Kings of the *Jews* deſtroyed all Idols and idolatrous Temples, wherever they had Power; and the Wrath of God was kindled againſt all that did not. If it was therefore a Sin againſt the true God, not to deſtroy them; How came it to be Sin only to rob them?

I think all this is enough to ſhew, that an Intention to plunder *Apollo* of his idle and unhallowed Wealth, was not the probable Cauſe of any Judgment upon *Brennus* and his Followers: But if there muſt be a Judgment in the Caſe, there were Reaſons for it, much more powerful, and much more likely to provoke God to ſend it. He was a wild and barbarous Robber, at the Head of an Army of Savages, who cruelly ravaged many Nations, made Spoil of all Mens Property, and inhumanely maſſacred thoſe that defended their own. They were Invaders, Plunderers, and Murderers, who by Numbers, Barbarity, Rapine, and Slaughter, laid waſte whole Countries, and deſtroyed, unprovoked, Men and Property. In

this

this general Pillage, they had already paſſed through and deſolated *Hungary*, *Illyrium*, *Macedonia*, and were now got into *Greece*. Was not here Guilt enough to call down a Thouſand Judgments? And after all this bloody and brutiſh Violence done to the World, and to the Laws of God and Man; Can we imagine that theſe *Gauls* ſuffered that terrible Doom for barely intending a Thing, in which neither God would have been diſhonour'd, nor Man injured? At leaſt in any Degree of Compariſon, with the leaſt of the other great and terrible Calamities, which they ſuffered from theſe deſtroying *Barbarians*?

I ſhall now add ſomething more particularly concerning the wretched End of theſe *Gauls*, and enquire how far it can be reckon'd a Judgment. And here I am of Opinion that either every Calamity, Publick or Private, muſt be accounted a Judgment; which Doctrine, I believe no Man holds; or elſe we muſt determine, by what Marks we can know a Judgment from a Calamity: Nor do I know of any ſufficient Marks to direct us in this Matter, but an immediate Miracle, and Declaration from Almighty God, that he means it ſo: And in ſuch a miraculous Declaration, the Crime muſt be expreſly ſpecified, for which ſuch Judgment is inflicted; becauſe for every Crime Judgments are not inflicted, nor always for the lateſt Crimes; but ſometimes overtake the Sinner, long after the Sin is committed. All this I take to be ſelf-evident. We muſt remember that Men, biaſſed by Paſſions and Prejudices, do often confound Good and Evil, and miſtake

the

the greateſt Wickedneſs for the greateſt Merit, and the higheſt Merit for the higheſt Wickedneſs: Publick Maſſacres have been applauded, publick Incendiaries have been ſainted, and publick Tyrants deified. While on the other Side, publick Virtue has paſſed for a publick Crime, Truth for Blaſphemy, and Chriſtianity has been rewarded with Fire and Sword. So that Men thus Blind and Perverſe, do frequently entitle Vice to the Bleſſing and Favour of God, and Virtue and Merit to his ſevereſt Judgments.

Wherever therefore, there is a great Complication of Crimes, and ſometimes of great Crimes, How can we diſtinguiſh for which of them the Judgment is ſent, unleſs he that ſends it declares the ſame? If he ſends it for more Crimes than one, How ſhall we diſtinguiſh where he, who only can, does not? And if the Judgment is ſent for one Sin only, by what certain Token can we diſcover it? If one Man hurts or diſobliges Twenty, in Twenty different Ways; robs one, ſteals from another, deceives a Third, calumniates a Fourth, wounds a Fifth, bears falſe Witneſs againſt a Sixth, and ſo on till he has as many Enemies as Crimes, and afterwards dies by a Diſaſter or the Law; every one of the Twenty will be apt to call it a Judgment, and a particular Judgment, for the particular Offence done to himſelf. Now where is the Rule, by which certainly to know either that this Man's Death was a Judgment, or to find out the certain Crime that brought it upon him? Or is ever ſuch a Rule like to be found, as long as all Sorts of Evils befal all Sorts of Men?

As

As to the Thunder, Lightning, Hail, and Earthquakes, that deſtroyed ſo many of the *Gauls*; were they not the uſual Operations and Effects of Nature? And have they not been from the Beginning? Have not whole Cities and Countries been deſtroyed by them? And has not their impartial Fury been felt by the Good and the Bad, without Diſtinction? In deſtroying Storms by Land and Sea, are the Wicked only overtaken? And do not the Virtuous periſh undiſtinguiſhed with them? And are not juſt Men, going upon juſt Expeditions, frequently overwhelmed by them? And do not wicked Men, in wicked Enterprizes, often eſcape them? When an impetuous Shock of an Earthquake overturns a City, or opens a devouring Chaſm to ſwallow it up; Do the Dwellings of the Righteous remain unmoved, and their Perſons unhurt?

Nor is it at all wonderful or uncommon, that this ignorant Multitude, diſmayed by ſo many and ſo alarming Misfortunes, thus ſuddenly checked in their Progreſs, at a great Diſtance from Home, beſet with Enemies in an Enemy's Country, unskilled in the Phœnomena of Nature, ſuffering many Calamities, and dreading more, fell into a Pannick; and having loſt their Senſes, attacked one another, by a Miſtake, in the Dark. Whole Armies have fallen into the like Terror upon the Sight of an Eclipſe: And the ſame unaccountable Fear, but without the ſame Effect, ſeized the victorious *Macedonian* Army of *Alexander the Great*, the very Night before they fought one of the greateſt and moſt ſucceſsful Battles. And we have ſtill

of God, which ſometimes fall upon Princ for an unjuſt War, fall alſo upon their Subjects, who were utterly guiltleſs of it. What ſtrange Doctrine is this? that every Man in a Nation ſhall ſuffer for the Sins of one Man, whom they could not reſtrain; or that any Man ſhall ſuffer for the Crimes of another? And that the beſt Men in an Army or a Nation ſhall bear the Calamities inflicted upon them for the Sins of the worſt; as if it were a Crime in a good Man to live where his Lot has caſt him, without his own Conſent, next Door to a wicked Man, or within Ten Miles of him!

This Paper, which I could make much longer, grows already too long. I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that we either apply God's Judgment at random, without his Authority, always in Oppoſition to his Commands, and, for ought we know, as often contrary to his Ends and Intention; or we do it out of Prejudices to Men and Opinions: And by this we give Advantage to Infidels and Men of no Religion, to reproach us with Preſumption upon our own Principles, in meddling with the ſecret Councils of God, in confounding his Mercy and Juſtice, and making him act capriciouſly, and in confounding one Religion with another, the Good with the Bad, as if we thought them all alike. Let us give no more ground for this Reproach; and as a Specimen of our Candour and equitable Judgment, let us own, in the Inſtance before us, that the Liberty, Proſperity, and Peace of the World, and amongſt the reſt, the Liberty of *Greece*, were Things ſomewhat

more

more ſacred and inviolable than *Apollo*'s conſecrated Bawbles.

I am, &c.

P. S. The Story about King *Charles*, I relate upon Memory, and may miſtake in Names or Circumſtances.

SIR,

I Have more than once complained in theſe Letters, that the beſt Things being moſt abuſed are capable of doing the greateſt Harm: Nor is it a new Obſervation, whatever new Occaſion there may be, at all Times to repeat it. Men have been ever deceived by good Names into an Approbation of ill Things, ſanctified by theſe Names. Impoſture and Deluſion have been called Religion, and thought ſo; Oppreſſion and Rapine have been called Government, and eſteemed Government. Teachers have degenerated into Deceivers, Submiſſion into Slavery, Taxation into Plundering, Protection into Deſtruction, and Magiſtrates into Murderers; without changing their Names: Power and Right have been ever confounded; and Succeſs, or the want of Succeſs, has turned Villainy into Virtue, and Virtue into Villainy.

Hence it is that little Crimes and ſmall Criminals have been deteſted and puniſhed, while great Malefactors have been generally reverenced and obeyed; and that little Rogues have

been

way; for Honour is not the Inſtrument of Evil it is therefore falſe and pretended Honour to execute and vindicate a bad Action by an unjuſt Command. Indeed no Command of any Conſequence ought to be obeyed, but what is or ought to be Law, and is not forbidden by any Law.

But this is only Reaſoning, which has but little Force with Men when it combats their Intereſt and worſt Paſſions. To them therefore who follow the Guides of Gain and Ambition, what I have here ſaid is not addreſſed; but to thoſe who, contrary to their Intereſt, follow and approve others whoſe only Principle is Intereſt.

Falſe Honour has more Power over Men than Laws have; and thoſe who deſpiſe all the Ties of Laws, and of Religion and Humanity, are often very exact in obſerving all the fantaſtical and wicked Rules of falſe Honour. There are no Debts ſo punctually paid as thoſe contracted at Play; though there are expreſs Laws againſt Play, and againſt paying of Money won at Play: nay, 'tis penal to pay ſuch Debts. And yet thoſe that are thus exact in paying to their own Ruin, and in Defiance of Law, whatever Debts they contract to avowed Sharpers, who live by cheating and picking Pockets, and are the Deſtruction of Families, and a publick Nuiſance; I ſay, thoſe Men thus exact in Unrighteouſneſs and their own Wrong, ſhall run in Debt to honeſt Tradeſmen, without any Purpoſe of paying them, and unconcerned ſee them broke, impriſoned, and undone for want of ſuch Payment. So lawleſly juſt are

are they to Rogues that ruin them, and ſo barbarouſly unjuſt to induſtrious and credulous Men, who feed and cloath them.

Is this Honour! What Dupes are we to Words and to our own Vice and Folly! It is but ſmall Comfort to us that this voluntary Madneſs prevailed of old amongſt our barbarous *German* Anceſtors, of whoſe diſtracted Propenſity to Gaming *Tacitus* gives us this aſtoniſhing Account: *Aleam ſobrii inter ſeria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac noviſſimo Jactû, de libertate & de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam ſervitutem adit, quamvis junior, quamvis robuſtior, adligari ſe ac venire patitur. Ea eſt in re pravâ pervicacia: ipſi fidem vocant.*

"Gaming is one of their moſt ſerious Em-
" ployments, and even ſober they are Game-
" ſters! To this raſh Vice they are ſo violently
" addicted, that when they have wantonly loſt
" all, they have not done, but deſperately
" ſtake their Liberty and their Perſons upon
" the laſt Throw. The Loſer goes calmly in-
" to Bondage; and, tho' the younger and the
" ſtronger, ſuffers himſelf tamely to be bound
" and ſold by him that wins. Such is their
" vicious Perſeverance in Folly! they them-
" ſelves call it Honour.

Our modern Gameſters do not indeed go quite this Length; they only ſell themſelves, with their Families and Poſterity to Beggary: For as to their Bodies, No-body will ſtake any thing againſt them. But in Point of Honour, in Gaming, we ſtill retain the Strictneſs of theſe our polite Anceſtors at Play, and gene-

rouſly

Another Piece of falſe Honour has ſometimes been that of ſerving a Prince at the Expence of one's Country, though the ſerving of that Country was the only Duty and only Buſineſs of the Prince, and of every Man in Office under him But this, though a Truth as ſelf-evident as any in the Bible, has been ſo little underſtood or practiſed, that the wicked Execution of impious Engagements made to a Tyrant, againſt thoſe made to Society, has been called Honour. And it has frequently been the Honour of a Courtier, to execute all the ill Purpoſes of a Court againſt his Country. And here was the War of Honour againſt Duty.

The Honour of a Party is to adhere to one another right or wrong; and though their Chief be a Knave and a Traytor, their Honour is engaged to be honeſt to him in all his Rogueries and Treaſon. And this is a War of Honour againſt Honeſty.

The Honour and *Bonâ fide* of ſome Princes, have been of that odd and unprincely Contexture, that they were never once reſtrained by the ſame, from deceiving, plaguing, invading, robbing, and uſurping upon their Neighbours; and doing Things which would have entitled a plain Subject to the Gibbet. Their Honour ſeems to have been deeply concerned to have no Honour: And though their Faith was engaged to protect their Subjects; yet their Honour, on the other ſide, was engaged to pillage and enſlave them. And here grew the Royal War of Honour againſt Faith and Equity!

How

How many peaceable Nations have been robbed, how many Millions of Innocents butchered, out of mere Honour, princely Honour! This Honour is indeed ſo wild, miſchievous and extravagant, that Words, the moſt warm and ſignificant Words, fail in deſcribing it. I ſhall therefore ſubjoin a few Inſtances of its Spirit, and conclude.

His Grace, *Villiers*, firſt Duke of *Buckingham*, engaged his Country in Two mad Wars at once with the Two greateſt Powers in *Europe*, becauſe his Honour had ſuffered a Rebuff in his Attempts to debauch Two great foreign Ladies. *Europe* was to be embroiled; Lives, Treaſure, and the Safety of Kingdoms to be riſqued and thrown away, to vindicate, forſooth, his Grace's debauched Honour!

Cambyſes, to revenge an Affront put upon his Father many Years before by an *Ægyptian* King, in the Buſineſs of ſending him a Wife, involved the World in a Flame of War; and at the Expence of perhaps a Million of Lives, and the Deſtruction of Kingdoms, did at laſt heroically vindicate his Father's Honour and his own, upon the Bones of a dead King, whom he cauſed to be dug up, and after many Indignities caſt into the Fire.

White Elephants are rare in Nature, and ſo greatly valued in the *Indies*, that the King of *Pegu* hearing that the King of *Siam* had got Two, ſent an Embaſſy in Form, to deſire one of them of his Royal Brother, at any Price: But being refuſed, he thought his Honour concerned to wage War for ſo great an Affront. So he enter'd *Siam* with a vaſt Army, and

with the Loſs of Five Hundred Thouſand of his own Men, and the Deſtruction of as many of the *Siameſes*, he made himſelf Maſter of the Elephant, and retrieved his Honour.

Darius (I think it was *Darius* the *Mede*) found his Honour concerned to chaſtiſe the *Scythians* for having invaded *Aſia*, a Hundred and Thirty Years before; and loſt a great Army to vindicate his Honour, which yet was not vindicated; that is, he miſſed the white Elephant. For,

In ſhort, Honour and Victory are generally no more than white Elephants; and for white Elephants the moſt deſtructive Wars have been often made. What Man free, either by Birth or Spirit, could, without Pity and Contempt, behold, as in a late *French* Reign he frequently might behold, a Swarm of ſlaviſh *Frenchmen*, in Wooden Shoes, with hungry Bellies, and no Clothes, dancing round a Maypole, becauſe their *Grand Monarque*, at the Expence of a Million of their Money, and Thirty or Forty Thouſand Lives, had acquired a white Elephant, or in other Words, gained a Town or Victory?

Inſtances are endleſs, or elſe I could name other People, who have employed themſelves ſeveral Years in catching white Elephants by Sea and Land; but I am in haſte to conclude.

I am, &c.

To CATO.

SIR,

THO' Love, abſtracted from Marriage, is a Subject too low for a Stateſman, a Politician, and I might add a Philoſopher; yet as it relates to that Holy State (as our Church is pleaſed to call it) it is worthy the greateſt Notice; for though many take upon them to ridicule all lawful and honourable Love, and Marriage, which crowns and proves it, yet I will venture to affirm there is hardly any Perſon lives a long Life without at ſome Part of it deſiring to enter into that State: It is like Religion implanted in our Natures, and all Men have a Notion 'tis the Way to Happineſs, though all don't practiſe it: The Reaſons of this Want of Practice are many; beſides the Degeneracy of humane Nature, the Imperfections of both Sexes make them afraid of ſo cloſe an Affinity; the Want of Conſtancy in the Male Sex, and above all, the Love of Money in both, is the greateſt Scandal and Hindrance to this moſt Honourable State in Life.

I cannot excuſe either Sex (though by this Time, both from my Subject and handling of it, you will gueſs me to be of the weakeſt) from this laſt Vice, the Love of Money; and I might add to it Ambition; for it ſeems to me grown the Rule of Marriage, there being few

few Alliances contracted of late Years, but where this is the chief Motive on the Man's Side, and almoſt ſo on the Woman's: No Wonder the Ladies ſhould have catch'd the Vice; for when a Woman finds herſelf ſlighted for no other Want but that of a large Fortune, ſhe muſt needs think it worth purchaſing at any Rate, and neglect all other Merit as uſeleſs.

I don't pretend to ſay that Virtue and Merit, in our Sex, is to be met with in every Corner of the Streets, as I am too ſenſible the contrary is; but ſure I am it is to be found, and Judgment was given to the Men in order to diſtinguiſh it: But, ſay your Sex, is Money then to be deſpiſed? Muſt the contrary be ſought? And has a Lady leſs Merit for having a large Fortune? Not always, but indeed too often; nay, nothing can hinder it but natural good Senſe and Temper, joined to great Care taken in the Education; without that a ſuperior Fortune makes a worſe Woman, conſequently a worſe Wife.

I was led into this Thought, and which occaſioned this Letter, by a Diſappointment a young Lady I had a Friendſhip for met with lately, with relation to this Subject, which coſt her her Life.

She was addreſs'd to by a Gentleman, whoſe good Senſe and Agreeableneſs would, ſhe thought, attone for ſome natural Defects and Infirmities, which ſhe had Penetration enough to find out in his Temper and Diſpoſition; among which, his Love of Money was not the leaſt; he was ſuperior to her in Fortune, but ſhe

ſhe was a Gentlewoman born, and bred ſo, and in every Reſpect, but Money, his Equal: She reſolved to ſuit herſelf to his Humour, and fancied herſelf cut out to pleaſe and make him happy, not out of Vanity, but Inclination to do ſo. She had Pride, and did not greatly care to be obliged, even by the Man ſhe lov'd; but fancied ſhe could ſave up a Fortune to him in a few Years, and with the refuſing of Preſents and reſigning of Settlements, attone in great Meaſure for the want of it. He thought it worth while to deceive her for a conſiderable Length of Time, for what Reaſon I cannot gueſs, ſhe being a Woman of undoubted Character, which he had known for ſome Years before, and all her Actions anſwered it: But in ſhort he left her, and that in ſo abrupt and rude a Manner as made her bear it worſe, not ſhewing the leaſt Abatement of his Paſſion the laſt Time he ſaw her, more than at the firſt. I wiſh he had truſted her with the Secret of forſaking her, for I dare ſay ſhe would have taken it handſomely, and (for his Advantage) given him up.

The Diſappointment met her under an Indiſpoſition of Body, elſe I believe ſhe had good Senſe, Reaſon, and Reſentment enough to have got the better on it. But ſhe died, and without reproaching of him, or behaving herſelf unhandſomely, ſhe ſaid ſhe was inclined to believe there was a Fate in Things of that Nature, and wiſhed him happier than (ſhe doubted) he deſerved.

He is now upon the Brink of Marriage to a Lady, that I dare ſay he does not like half

ſo well as this Lady he left her for; but ſhe has more Money abundantly, which he does not want; and then, though as I ſaid before, Money is no Objection, nor need a Woman be ſought out that wants it, yet I would not have a Man venture to leave a Woman for no other Reaſon, leſt he (as too probably he may) chance to repent it.

Sir, if you think this Subject, or our Sex, worthy your Notice, we ſhall be obliged to you; you are an Author, I might ſay it to your Face, capable of ſerving any Cauſe you undertake, ours is a charitable one; I am out of the Queſtion myſelf, with relation to making my Fortune, or it might not have been ſo proper for me to have ſtarted this Subject, though obſcure; but I have a general Love for Mankind, and particularly for my own Sex, whoſe Cauſe I commit to you, as into the Hands of a moſt powerful Advocate, and (I hope) a willing Patron. My Sincerity on this Subject cannot be doubted, when I moſt humbly ſubſcribe myſelf of that Sex, whoſe Cauſe I recommend, *viz.*

A WOMAN.

To

To the Lady who wrote the Foregoing.

Madam,

YOU will eaſily believe me, when I acquaint you, that I am not a little proud of the Honour you have done me, in thinking me worthy of the Correſpondence of a Lady, to whom Nature has ſhewn herſelf ſo indulgent. She ſeldom leaves her own Work imperfect; and therefore, I doubt not but ſhe has been propitious to you more Ways than one: And I am perſwaded, that if you had been the firſt Object of the inconſtant *Strephon*'s Adoration, he had never worſhipped any falſe Goddeſs.

I can aſſure you, Madam, you could never have recommended yourſelf ſo much to me, or have obliged me more, than in engaging me in this agreeable Manner in the Cauſe of helpleſs Innocence, and diſtreſſed Virtue; and in giving me an Opportunty to conſider the greater and better Half of the World in their neareſt and moſt engaging Relation. I am by Profeſſion, a Knight-Errant: It is my Buſineſs to right Wrongs and redreſs Injuries, and none more than thoſe done to your tender Sex.

It is a Subject which employs my ſofteſt and moſt delicate Thoughts and Inclinations; which I can in nothing gratify ſo much, as by contributing to the Eaſe and Happineſs of that Sex, to whom we owe moſt of our own.

That Cordial Drop Heaven in our Cup has thrown,
To make the nauſeous Draught of Life go down:

And to attone for the Thouſands, Ten Thouſands of Evils, to which humane Condition is ſubject.

Hercules himſelf laid down his Club, and took up a Diſtaff: And,

——— *furious* Mars,
The only Governour and God of Wars,
When tir'd with Heat and Toil, does oft reſort,
To taſte the Pleaſures of the Paphian *Court.*

I do not therefore depart from my Character, or deſert my Duty, in conſidering this Subject, and attending upon the Concerns of the Fair: With their Cauſe, the Cauſe of Liberty is blended; and ſcarce any Man will be much concerned for publick Happineſs, unleſs he enjoys domeſtick: Publick Happineſs being nothing elſe but the Magiſtrate's protecting of private Men in their Property, and their Enjoyments. It is certain, that a Man's Intereſt, in Point of Happineſs and Pleaſures, is in no Inſtance ſo much concerned as in that of Marriage, which being the happieſt or unhappieſt State in the World, muſt moſtly conſtitute his Happineſs or Miſery.

The Beauty, the Vigour, the Wit, and conſequently the Preferment of his Poſterity, do much depend upon the Choice of his Wife, and poſſibly upon his Inclinations to her, and hers to him. We are very careful of the Breed of our Horſes, our Cocks, and our Dogs, and

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as remarkably neglectful of the Education of our Children; and yet we dedicate Two Thirds of our Subſtance to our Poſterity: For ſo much is the Difference between the Purchaſe of Eſtates of Inheritance, and of Eſtates only for our own Lives.

Our Wealth does alſo depend in a great Meaſure upon domeſtick Sympathy and Concord; and it is a true Proverb, that a Man muſt ask Leave of his Wife to be rich: So great a Share of his Subſtance and Proſperity muſt remain in her Power, and at her Diſcretion, and under her Management, that if he would thrive and be happy himſelf, he muſt make her ſo.

In order to this, he ought to chuſe one whoſe Temper, good Senſe, and Agreeableneſs, ſhall make him find his Pleaſure in obliging her; and by Conſtancy and endearing Actions make her wholly his own, and to do all in her Power to oblige him. No Man can live in a conſtant State of Hypocriſy in his own Family; but if he has Diſtaſtes they will certainly break out; or at leaſt be found out by one who is always about him, and whoſe conſtant Buſineſs it is to obſerve him, and his Humours and Affections. And therefore, 'tis his beſt and only Way to find out ſuch a one, as he need not counterfeit a Kindneſs to.

In all my Obſervation, a good Husband rarely miſſes to make a good Wife. The Hearts of Women are naturally ſo tender, their Paſſions towards their Husbands ſo ſtrong, and their Happineſs and the Reſpect they meet with in the World, are ſo much owing to their

Husbands, that we ſeldom find a married Woman who will not with a little real, and often with but a ſeeming Kindneſs, do whatever a prudent Husband will deſire of her; and often to oblige him, more than he deſires. And what can be more barbarous than to uſe one ill, who throws herſelf into his Power, and depends upon his Protection; who gives up all ſhe has to his Mercy, and receives it afterwards at his Pleaſure?

It is miſerable Folly, to put yourſelf in a Circumſtance of being uneaſy in your own Houſe, which ought to be a Retreat from all the Ruffles and Diſappointments you meet with elſewhere: In Conſequence of this, you muſt ſeek your Pleaſures Abroad at great Expence, and the Hazard of your Health, and to the Neglect of your Affairs. Your Wife too, when ſhe finds herſelf neglected by one in whom ſhe had fixed her whole Happineſs, will not bear the Place and Manſion of her Miſery, but will fall into a Deſpondency, and an Indifference to your Intereſt, and will be apt to look out in her Turn for Pleaſures Abroad, when ſhe can have none at Home. Women for the moſt part place their Felicity in their Husbands, and in their Families, and generally purſue thoſe Views, till the Unkindneſs, Neglect, and Folly, of their Husbands, render them impracticable.

Whatever Excuſe there may be for Men over-run with Debts, or otherwiſe very neceſſitous, to aim only at Money in Marriage, and thereby to throw themſelves into a miſerable and nauſeous Impriſonment for Life, to prevent falling

falling into one but little worſe; I cannot find one tolerable Reaſon in Nature, why any One in eaſy Circumſtances, and who does not want the common Neceſſaries of Life, ſhould purchaſe the Superfluities at ſo dear a Price. But it is ſtupendious that Men of Figure and Fortune, who have in their Power the Means of enjoying not only the Conveniencies, but the Luxury and Vices of Life (if ſuch can be called Enjoyments) ſhould yet barter away all their Happineſs for a little ſeeming additional Wealth, which for the moſt part produces real Poverty.

It is certain, that ten Men of Birth and Eſtates have been undone by marrying great Fortunes, for one who has been enrich'd by it. Moſt Men pay Twenty *per Cent.* for ſuch Portions, as long as they have any thing to pay. Ten Thouſand Pounds additional Fortune, when laid out in Land, will not produce Three Hundred Pounds a Year clear, which Sum will ſcarce maintain the Tea-Table, and keep the ſupernumerary Bawbles in Repair; and it will coſt as much more to ſhew them. Beſides, when the uſual Preſents are made, and an Expenſive Marriage is ſolemnized, gaudy Clothes and Equipage are bought, and perhaps a *London* Houſe furniſhed; a conſiderable Part of this Portion will be diſburſed, and the forlorn Hero of this ſhewy, noiſy Farce, will diſcover, too late, how much more eligible it had been to have married a Lady well born, of a diſcreet, modeſt, and frugal Education, and an agreeable Perſon, with leſs Money, than a haughty Dame with all her Quality Airs about

her, or Mr. *Thimbleman*'s Daughter, tho' bedecked with as many Trinkets as *Tallboy* or *Jerry Blackacre* upon the Stage.

But before we can compleat this Account, we muſt ballance what muſt be given in Lieu of this Lady's Wealth, beſides the entire Loſs of conjugal and domeſtick Happineſs. It is truly ſaid, that Gold may be bought too dear; and I may ſafely ſay, that the deareſt Purchaſe now in *England*, is a Wife with a great Fortune, not excepting that of *South-Sea* Stock laſt Year.

For every Thouſand Pounds the Lady brings, ſhe muſt have a Hundred Pounds a Year, at leaſt during her own Life, and often a Rent Charge, which alone is worth the Purchaſe Money which ſhe brings, if ſhe outlives her Husband; and then ſhe brings nothing towards the Iſſue, which, modeſtly ſpeaking, are as much hers as her Husband's; and it is certain, that during her living with him, ſhe ſpends more than the Intereſt of it: For, (beſides her private Expence) the Gay Furniture, the Rich Beds, the *China* Ware, the Tea Table, the Viſiting Rooms, Rich Coaches, *&c.* muſt be chiefly placed to her Account; and ſhe ſhares equally in the Table Expence, and in that of the Children and Gardens: And yet over and above all this, a Man muſt ſettle the Remainder of his Eſtate and Subſtance out of his own Power, and intail it upon whatever Heir Chance and his Wife bring him; perhaps, upon an ungrateful and diſobedient One, made ſo by his Independency upon his Father; often upon a fooliſh and unimprovable One, and ſometimes, perhaps, upon a ſpurious One.

I do not complain of this uſual Method of Settlement, as thinking it reaſonable that any Man ſhould give a large Sum of Money in Dowry with his Daughter, without taking proper Precautions to provide for her and his own Poſterity. But I cenſure the preſent great Abuſe of giving and demanding ſuch Fortunes, which have inverted the very Ends of Marriage, and made Wives Independent on their Huſbands, and Sons on their Fathers; Fortunes, which make Men Bargain for their Wives, as they would for Cattle; and inſtead of creating conjugal Friendſhip and Affection, and all ſorts of domeſtick Happineſs, have produced nothing but Strife, Averſion, and Contention, where there ought to be perfect Sympathy and Unanimity, and have brought into the World a Race of Monkeys and Baboons, inſtead of Creatures with humane Shape and Souls.

Why ſhould Men of Fortune and Underſtanding bring themſelves, without any Motive from Reaſon or Intereſt, into theſe unhappy Circumſtances? Why ſhould any Man, without any Conſideration, at leaſt any valuable Conſideration, diveſt himſelf of the greateſt Part of the Property of his own Eſtate? Why make himſelf only Tenant for Life, when he is in Poſſeſſion of an Inheritance; and render himſelf by that Means unable to provide againſt the many Emergencies of Life? Why ſubject himſelf to the Inſolence of an ungrateful Heir, or be forced to leave it to an unworthy one? Why be obliged to bear the Caprices and Diſhonour of a wanton and peeviſh Wife, perhaps made ſo by his Neglect, ariſing

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from his Averſion, the ordinary Effect of Marriage againſt Inclination? when he might have choſen one every Way ſuited to the ſame; and, by contenting himſelf with leſs Fortune, have kept the greateſt part of his Eſtate in his own Power, and with it the further Means of obliging her, and of making her future Fortune and Expectations to depend upon her own Conduct, Complaiſance, and affectionate Behaviour.

You have given me, Madam, a very pregnant and affecting Inſtance of a Gentleman, who, made falſe by Avarice, has loſt, and wickedly loſt, a virtuous, prudent, and fond Wife, while he ſought Money more than Merit, and cruelly broke his Faith, and with it a tender Heart, for the infamous Sake of Lucre; which may deſervedly prove a Canker in his Soul and his Subſtance, and bring him a Lady with Qualities proper to revenge the other's juſt Quarrel and barbarous Wrongs. And I, on my part, can give you an Inſtance of a Gentleman of great Fortune and Figure, who, by acting according to the former wiſer Rules, has made himſelf happy in an amiable, diſcreet and obſervant Lady, and enjoys with her all the Bleſſings of mutual Confidence and tender Affection. He is complaiſant without Art, and ſhe without Fear.

I am with perfect Reſpect, Madam,

Your moſt humble and moſt obedient Servant:

CATO.

SIR,

SIR,

I Have, in ſeveral of my late Letters, obſerved ſome Slips that have eſcaped from the Pen of the great and learned Dr. *Prideaux*; but as I have done this with no Deſign of blemiſhing a Character which cannot be blemiſh'd, I think my ſelf obliged to own once more, his great Merit, the Service done by him to Mankind, the Honour to his Country, and the Pleaſure and Information which I in particular have received from his worthy Labours.

It is poſſible, that out of Deteſtation to Principles which ſubvert and tear up by the Roots all Liberty and civil Happineſs, I may have uſed ſome warm Expreſſions againſt thoſe that maintain them. Such Expreſſions therefore can be applied only to thoſe who have been ever the avowed and active Enemies of every thing lovely, valuable, or praiſe-worthy amongſt Men. But as to Dr. *Prideaux*, however he is fallen into Prejudices, perhaps early imbibed, and not ſince examined by him with his uſual Accuracy; or however he might intend to ſerve a pious Cauſe with adventitious Helps and precarious Supports, which it wanted not: Certain it is, from the whole Courſe of his excellent Performance, that he had ſincerely at Heart the Intereſt of true Religion and Liberty. A Spirit of Virtue, Piety, good Senſe and Integrity, and an Averſion to Oppreſſion, Cruelty and Tyranny, ſhine through his whole Hiſtory, and animate the ſame; and neither he nor his Hiſtory can be too much commended.

But the Doctor is an eminent Inſtance, how little any Man ought to be guided by the mere

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Authority of another; ſince one of the greateſt and worthieſt Men living, is capable of falling into ſuch obvious Errors. From the Greatneſs of his Name and Credit alone I was led to theſe Animadverſions, and with Reluctance I made them. Faulcons do not prey upon Flies. Other Writers, whoſe Characters add no Weight to their Miſtakes, are ſafe from any Cenſure of mine. For this Reaſon I ſhall not trouble my ſelf with the Party-Falſhoods and pious Ribaldry, and Blunders of a modern voluminous Writer of *Engliſh* Hiſtory. His Contract and Dialogue between *Oliver Cromwell* and the Devil, is a harmleſs Piece of Hiſtory, and as entertaining as the reſt. *I am*, &c.

SIR,

AS my Deſign in theſe Letters is to endeavour to free and manumit Mankind from the many Impoſitions, Frauds, and Deluſions, which interrupt their Happineſs; ſo I ſhall, in this, and ſome of the ſucceeding ones, attempt to remove the popular Impreſſions and Fears of Spirits, Apparitions, and Witches; which more or leſs afflict and terrify the greateſt Part of the World; and conſequently it will conduce much to their Eaſe and Felicity, if I can lay theſe Phantoms.

There is a ſtrange Propenſity in Humane Nature to Prodigy, and whatever elſe cauſes Surprize and Aſtoniſhment, and to admire what they do not underſtand; we have immediate Recourſe to Miracle, which ſolves all our Doubts,

Doubts, and gratifies our Pride, by accounting for our Ignorance. We are not affected by Things we frequently ſee; or if we can trace but one Link of the infinite Chain of Cauſes, our Admiration ceaſes; tho' we are then as far from our Journey's End, as when we ſet out; for all the Works of Providence are miraculous to us, who cannot do them our ſelves, or know how he, who is the Author of them, does them. And in this Senſe, every Thing is a Miracle to us; tho' we ought to be no more ſurprized at ſeeing a Blazing Star, which makes its Revolution but once in five hundred Years, than in ſeeing the Sun every Day.

For many Ages, the Phænomena of Meteors, Eclipſes, and Comets, ſeemed unaccountable; and the Cauſes of Thunder and Lightning were unknown to the World; as they are to moſt People in it at this Day. Great Guns were eſteemed, by the *Americans*, to be angry Deities; Ships, floating Monſters; the Sun to be God of the World; Watches to be living Animals; Paper and Ink to be Spirits, which conveyed Mens Thoughts from one to another: And a dancing Mare was lately burned for a Witch in the Inquiſition of *Portugal*.

All Nature is in perpetual Rotation; and in the great Variety of Actions which it produces, ſome muſt appear very extraordinary and unaccountable to us, by all the Powers of Matter and Motion which fall within our narrow Obſervations; and yet may, and undoubtedly have as certain and regular Cauſes and Effects, as the moſt obvious Mechanick Operations. We ſee into the Bottom and internal Frame and Conſtitution

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of no one Thing in the World, and probably never can do ſo, whilſt we continue in theſe frail Bodies. We ſee not into the Principles and Contexture of Animal or Vegetable Beings; and conſequently cannot know what Nature can ſpontaneouſly produce, or how ſhe works. We ſee only the Outſide and Film of Things; and no more of them than what is neceſſary to the Preſervation or Convenience of our ſelves, and not the thouſandth Part of what is ſo. Almighty God hath hid all the reſt from our Eyes, to baffle our fooliſh Curioſity, to raiſe our Admiration of his Power, and to excite our Homage and Adoration to him the great Author of all Things.

Nature (as is ſaid in Print elſewhere) works by infinite Ways; which are impenetrable to our vain and fruitleſs Inquiries. *The Loadſtone draws Iron to it; Gold, Quick ſilver. The ſenſitive Plant ſhrinks from the Touch. Some ſorts of Vegetables attract one another, and twine together; others avoid one another, and grow farther apart. The Treading upon the Turpedo, affects, and gives raging Pains to our whole Bodies. The Bite of a mad Dog cauſes Madneſs. Turkey-Cocks and Pheaſants fly at Red. A Rattle Snake, by a ſort of magical Power in his Eyes, will force a Squirrel to run into his Mouth. Muſick will cure the Bite of a Tarantula. The Frights and Longings of Women with Child, will ſtamp Impreſſions upon the Babes within them. People, in their Sleep, will walk ſecurely over Precipices and Ridges of Houſes, where they durſt not venture whilſt awake. Lightning will melt a Sword without hurting the Scabbard.* And there are very many other ſurprizing Inſtances of the Powers of Matter and Motion, which we every Day

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ſee and feel; and, without Doubt, there are infinite others which we know nothing of.

If ſome Men could follow Scents, like Dogs, or ſee in the dark, like Cats, or have the ſame Preſages and Prognoſticks of fair Weather or Tempeſts, which other Animals ſeem to have, How many Things would they know and do, unaccountable to the reſt of Mankind? If Almighty God had thought fit to have beſtowed upon any Man, one or more Senſes above the reſt of the Species, many of his Actions muſt have appeared miraculous to them.

But if theſe minute and petty Works of Nature cauſe ſo much our Surpize and Aſtoniſhment, How ought we to admire and adore the Author of all Nature, in the greater Works of his Creation? The Earth it ſelf is but as a Muſtard-Seed to the viſible World; and doubtleſs that is infinitely leſs in Compariſon of the inviſible one. It is very likely, that its many Fellow-Planets, which move about the Sun as we do, are filled with Inhabitants, and ſome of them probably with more valuable ones than our ſelves: And 'tis next to certain, that the numerous fixed Stars, nightly ſeen by us, and the more numerous ones frequently diſcovered by new and better Glaſſes, are ſo many different Suns, and poſſibly with each a different Chorus or Syſtem of Worlds moving about them, and receiving vital Warmth and Nouriſhment from their Beams; for 'tis impoſſible to believe, that the All-wiſe Diſpoſer of all Things ſhould place ſo many Orbs, many thouſand times greater than this Earth, in the vaſt Abyſs of Space, far out of our Sight, and of no Uſe

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to us, unleſs to ſerve ſuitable Purpoſes of his Providence.

We are not, nor can we be ſure, that there are not other Beings who are Inhabitants of the Air or Æther, with Bodies ſubtle enough to be ſuited to, and nouriſhed by theſe thin Elements, and perhaps with Senſes and Faculties ſuperior to us; for the Works of Almighty God are as infinite as is his Power to do them; and 'tis paying greater Deference to him, and having higher Conceptions of his Omnipotence, to ſuppoſe that he ſaw all Things which have been, are, or ever ſhall be, at one View, and formed the whole Syſtem of Nature with ſuch exquiſite Contrivance and infinite Wiſdom, as by its own Energy and Intrinſick Powers, to produce all the Effects and Operations which we daily ſee, feel, and admire; than to believe him to be often interpoſing to alter and amend his own Work, which was undoubtedly perfect at firſt, tho' in the Purſuit of his eternal Decrees, and in the Courſe, Progreſs and unbroken Chain of his original Syſtem, he ſeems to us, ſometimes to act occaſionally; when in Compliance to our weak Comprehenſions, and in Condeſcenſion to our low Capacities, he ſpeaks and appears to act after the Manner of Men. We have not Faculties to ſee or know Things as they are in themſelves, but only in ſuch Lights as our Creator pleaſes to repreſent them in to us: He has given us Talents ſuited to our Wants, and to underſtand his Will, and obey it; and here is our *ne plus ultra*. We may be very ſure that we are not obliged to know what is beyond our Power to know; but all ſuch Things are as Non-entities to us. When-

Whenſoever therefore we hear of, or ſee any ſurprizing Appearances or Events in Nature, which we cannot trace and connect to their immediate Cauſes, we are not to call in ſupernatural Powers, and intereſt Heaven or Hell in the Solution, to ſave our Credit, and cover our own Folly, when there are ſo very few Things in the World we know any Thing of, and of thoſe few we know but very little. We are not to meaſure the Works of God by our ſcanty Capacities; and believe that he miraculouſly interpoſes in the Courſe of humane Affairs, but when he pleaſes to intimate to us, that he does or intends to do ſo; much leſs ought we to introduce Dæmons into his Syſtem of the Univerſe, unleſs as Objects or Inſtruments, and Executioners of his Vengeance; but not to intrude into his Government of the World, to trepan and miſlead his Creatures, and to thwart and oppoſe himſelf; and every now and anon, to cut the Chain, ſtop the Wheels, and interrupt the Courſe of his Providence.

We are very ſure God can do and impower any other Beings to do every Thing which he would have done; but we are not obliged by any Precept, Moral, or Divine, to believe every Thing which weak, crazed, or deſigning Men tell us in his Name; and the disbelieving their fooliſh and fantaſtical Stories, is not queſtioning the Power of God, but the Veracity or Judgment of the Perſons who tell them; for ſure there can be no Occaſion of recurring to ſupernatural Cauſes, to account for what may be very eaſily accounted for by our Ignorance of natural Ones, by the Fraud or Folly of

others,

others, or by the Deception of our ſelves. There can be no Wonder in a Man's telling a Lye, or in his being deceived.

Which of our Senſes does not often deceive us? Strangling, or ſtrong Preſſure of the Eyes, cauſes all Things to appear on Fire; of the Ears, makes us hear Noiſes; ſtraight Things, in the Water, appear crooked: Bodies, by Reflection or Refraction, appear otherwiſe, and in other Places. than they are in Nature. All Things appear Yellow to Men in the Jaundice; and to thoſe in Calentures, the Sea appears like a green Meadow, and, if not reſtrained, they will leap into it: Melancholly and enthuſiaſtick Perſons fancy themſelves to be Glaſs Bottles, Knives, and Tankards; Madmen often believe themſelves Gods or Princes, and almoſt always ſee Spirits; and a Reverend Divine, ſome Time ſince, thought himſelf big with Child, and could not be perſwaded to the contrary, till a Man Midwife pretended to deliver him of a falſe Conception.

In Fevers, and malignant Diſtempers, People ſee Viſions and Apparitions of Angels, Devils, dead Men, or whatever elſe their Imaginations render moſt agreeable or terrible to them; and in Dreams, all Men ſee, or fancy they ſee, ſuch falſe Appearances. Their Imaginations, in Sleep, are often ſo lively and vigorous, that they can ſcarcely be perſwaded of their Miſtake when they awake out of it, and would not be ſo, if they did not find themſelves in Bed; and therefore, if a credulous, fearful, and melancholly Man, ſhould carelefly nod himſelf to Sleep in his Cloſet or his Garden, and receive

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a vigorous Repreſentation of an Angel, Dæmon, or dead Man, ſpeaking to him, or delivering a Meſſage, and after wake on a ſudden, without obſerving his own ſleeping (as often happens) I cannot ſee how he ſhould diſtinguiſh this appearing Phantom from a real Viſion or Revelation, and I ſhould be glad to have a Rule to do it by.

The Frame and Contexture of our Bodies betrays us to theſe Deluſions. For as all Objects and Images from without, are let in upon the Mind by the Windows or Conduits of the outward Senſes, and the Mind afterwards ranges, methodizes, operates, and reaſons upon them; ſo it can only work upon ſuch Materials as it receives, and conſequently when the Organs of Senſation are wrong framed in their Original Contexture, or depraved afterwards by Sickneſs or Accidents, the Mind muſt be miſled too, and often miſtake Appearances for real Beings: When the Spies, Scouts, and Outguards, are ſeized, corrupted, or deceived, the Intelligence will be fallacious, or none at all.

It is evident in a thouſand Inſtances, that the Mind and Body mutually act and operate upon one another; both grow and encreaſe by Age and Exerciſe, both are impaired and enervated by Diſtempers and Accidents, and all the noble Faculties of the former are often deſtroyed and extinguiſhed by accidental Injuries done to the latter, and by other fortuitous Events and occaſional Strokes of Fortune. Common Experience ſhews us, that if Men are born without one or more of their Senſes, ſo many Conduits of Knowledge are ſtopt: If a Child comes

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into the World without the Faculties of Seeing or Hearing, he can have no Underſtanding at all, unleſs he afterwards acquires them; and if he looſes them again, all further Progreſs is at an End: The Vigour and Capacity of our Minds depend very much, if not altogether, upon the Organization of our Bodies, and are altered, improved, and encreaſed by proper Diet, Action, or Education; and oppreſſed, leſſened, and ſometimes quite loſt by Drunkenneſs, Gluttony, Lazineſs, or Misfortunes. I have often almoſt fancied, that Men may be dieted into Opinions, as Experience ſhews us they may be educated into the moſt abſurd ones by Cuſtom, Converſation, and Habit.

Every Paſſion or Affection of the Mind produces viſibly a ſuitable and correſpondent Diſpoſition of the Muſcles and Lineaments of the Face, and conſequently muſt affect and alter the whole Mechaniſm of the Body; and by like Reaſon every Thought or Motion of the Mind muſt do the ſame in a leſſer Degree (tho' not equally ſubject to common Obſervation) by forcing or directing the Blood, Juices, or Animal Spirits, into peculiar Tubes, Conduits, or Veſſels; and when by frequent Uſe thoſe Channels and Paſſages become habitual to them, they will often flow thither of their own accord, or are eaſily driven thither, and ſo by working backwards, will cauſe thoſe Paſſions and Perceptions, which at firſt cauſed them, and in Conſequence the ſame Impreſſions and Diſpoſitions of the Organs of Senſe.

If this Obſervation is true, it will account for our Deluſions in Dreams, when exteriour Objects

jects are ſhut out, which muſt otherwiſe controul and over-power the weaker and more faint Operations of the internal Machine; and this too will account for the many pannick and unreaſonable Fears and Prejudices we are ſubject to from Education, Cuſtom, and Conſtitution, as well as for the Difficulty, if not Impoſſibility, of our ſhaking off and conquering any other Habits of Mind or Body acquired by early and continued Practice.

I ſhall in my next apply theſe general Principles to the Syſtem of Spirits, and ſhew that Philoſophy and Religion both contradict the commonly received Opinions of them.

I am, &c.

SIR,

AS I have ſhewn at large, in my laſt Letter, that in very many Inſtances, our Senſes are ſubject and liable to be deceiv'd in Objects evidently material; ſo in this I ſhall endeavour as fully to ſhew, that we can have no poſſible Ideas of any other. When we call God a Spirit, we do not pretend to define his Nature, or the Modus of his Exiſtence, but to expreſs the high Conceptions we have of his Omnipotence, by ſuppoſing him moſt unlike to our ſelves, and infinitely ſuperior to every Thing we ſee and know, and then we are loſt and buried in the Abyſs of our own

Ignorance; but we can have no other poſſible Conception of what we mean by the Word *Spirit*, when applied to him.

We cannot have even the moſt abſtracted Images of Things, without the Ideas of Extenſion and Solidity, which are the Mediums of conceiving all Things that we can conceive at all. As the Organs of our Senſes are all material, ſo they are formed only to receive material Objects; and but a ſmall Part of thoſe which are ſo. The Ear cannot hear, the Hands feel, the Palate taſte, the Noſe ſmell, or the Eye ſee Bodies, but of certain Magnitudes, Dimenſions and Solidity; and theſe vary too in different Men, and in the ſame Men at different Times, and at different Ages. There are Millions of Inſects that cannot be ſeen without Glaſſes; and probably infinite others, which cannot be ſeen with them. The ſubtle Effluvia, or other minute Cauſes of peſtilential Diſtempers, are not within the Reach and Obſervation of any of our Senſes. We cannot ſee Wind and common Air, much leſs pure Æther, which are too thin and too ſubtle Bodies for the Fabrick of the Eye; and how ſhould we ſee Spirits, which we are told have no Bodies at all, and in the Dark too, when the Contexture of the Eye will not afford us the Uſe of that Organ?

I cannot conceive why the Dreams of the old Heathen Philoſophers ſhould be adopted into the Chriſtian Syſtem; or from what Principles of Reaſon or Religion we ſhould be told that the Soul is *totum in toto*, and *totum in qualibet parte*; that is, that all of it is diffuſed through

through the whole Body, and yet all of it is in every part of the Body: That Spirits take up no Place, and that ten Thouſand of them may ſtand upon the Point of a Needle, and yet leave Room for a Million Times as many more; that they may move from Place to Place, and not paſs through the intermediate Space; and that they are impenetrable themſelves, and yet can penetrate every Thing elſe. Is not this fine Gibberiſh, and pretty Divinity? And yet it is eſteem'd by ſome a ſort of Atheiſm, to disbelieve it; but neither Philoſophy nor Scripture tell us any ſuch Matter. It is true indeed, we are told, that Spirits have neither Fleſh nor Bones; no more have Wind, Air, or Æther, and Thouſands of other Things, which yet are Bodies; but we are no where told, as I remember, that Spirits have no Extenſion or Solidity: And if we were told ſo, we could underſtand no more by it than that they were Beings of which we neither had, nor could have any other than negative Ideas.

I think therefore, that I may venture to aſſert, that either God hath created no Beings independent of Matter, or that they cannot be Objects of our Senſes; but if there are any ſuch, they are of a Nature ſo different from us, and ſo incomprehenſible by the Faculties he has given us, that we can form no Propoſitions about them; and conſequently are not oblig'd to believe or disbelieve any Thing concerning them, till he pleaſes farther to inform us.

But there are an humble Sort of Philoſophers, who want the Sagacity to conceive how any Subſtance can exiſt without Extenſion and

Solidity; and conſequently are modeſt enough to confeſs that they do not underſtand the Diſtinction between material and immaterial Subſtances; and that they cannot, with their moſt refin'd Imaginations, have any Notion of a middle State of Things, between extended Beings and no Beings at all; between real Eſſences and Shadows, Phantoms or Images of diſordered Brains; or that any Thing can exiſt in the Univerſe, and at the ſame time in no part of it. And yet theſe Gentlemen will not give up the general Syſtem of Spirits, but ſuppoſe them to be Beings of ſubtle aerial Contexture, that in their own Nature are not Objects of our Senſes, but have Powers, by aſſuming more denſe Bodies, to make themſelves ſo, and have Capacities to do many Things unaccountable to us, and beyond the Limits and Reach of our Apprehenſions. All which I think no Man will affirm to be impoſſible; but I think any Man may ſafely affirm, that ſuch Agents are not permitted to moleſt human Affairs, and ſeduce or miſlead Men by doing ſupernatural Actions, or what muſt appear to us to be ſo.

A contrary Suppoſition muſt deſtroy the very Uſe of Miracles; for if other Beings, either by the Energy of their own Nature, or the Will and Permiſſion of God, can do Miracles, or thoſe Actions which we cannot diſtinguiſh from Miracles; then nothing can be proved by them, and we ſhall loſe the beſt Evidence of the Truth of our Holy Religion: For if Signs and Wonders may be promiſcuouſly ſhewn and perform'd by the beſt of all Beings and

and by the worſt, they may be done and us'd to promote Error, Impoſture and Wickedneſs, as well as Virtue and true Religion; nor can I find out any Criterion, or ſufficient Mark, whereby we can diſtinguiſh which are done by the Preſerver, and which by the profeſs'd Enemy of Mankind. To ſay that the Truth of the Miracle ſhall be tried by the Doctrine it is brought to propagate, or the Precepts it commands, is to invert the very Uſe and End of Miracles, which is to give Credit and Authority to the Doer, who is always ſuppos'd to act by God's Power, in order to declare his Will; and conſequently, if the Wonders he does are to be tried by the Doctrine he teaches, there would be no Uſe of any Wonders at all, to prove not only what proves its ſelf, but what is to prove the Truth of the Miracle, which is to prove the Truth of the Doctrine.

We are very ſure, that the great Creator of Heaven and Earth, and the ſole Author of all our Happineſs, does not leave us in theſe Uncertainties, and to be toſſed and tumbled in the thick Miſt and dark Chaos of Ignorance and Deceit. How can we know the Truth of any Revelation, without knowing the Revealer himſelf to be true? We muſt be firſt certain, that a good and beneficent Being ſpeaks to us, before we can believe any Thing he tells us. Whenever therefore Almighty God, by Means becoming his infinite Wiſdom, and from Cauſes impenetrable to us, communicates his Intentions by Appearances and Repreſentations to our Senſes, or by any other Ways out of the ordinary Courſe of his Providence, he always

gives us ſure Marks whereby we can diſtinguiſh his Works from Deluſion and Impoſture, which often ape Truth it ſelf, and miſlead ignorant and unwary Men. We are told in Holy Writ, that *young Men ſhall ſee Viſions, and old Men dream Dreams*, which frequently happens; and *that falſe Prophets ſhall ariſe and do Wonders, which ſhall deceive almoſt the Elect*, but we are bid to disbelieve them; which, if they work'd true Miracles, we could not do, without rejecting all Miracles. For how can we believe any Thing to be miraculous, and at the ſame time disbelieve another Thing to be ſo, without being able to ſhew any Difference between them? And therefore we may acquieſce in an Aſſurance that ſuch Pretenders muſt be Cheats, and their Actions Impoſtures and Deceits upon our Senſes.

Whenever God works Wonders, or produces thoſe Events which ſhall appear as ſuch to us, he always does them for wiſe Reaſons, either to warn and inform Men, to make them Examples of his Juſtice, or to communicate his Will, and teach us ſome Doctrine; and he takes the moſt proper and effectual Means to attain his Ends, and coerce our Belief, by making ſuch Applications to our outward Senſes, and ſuch Impreſſions upon our Underſtandings, as we muſt ſubmit to, and acquieſce in, unleſs we reſolve to give up all Certainty; or elſe by Predictions which are juſtified by the Event, which are undoubtedly Miracles. He does them in the moſt open Manner before Crowds at once; but our modern Miracle-mongers do them all in Secret, in Corners, and

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in the Dark; and their Spirits and Apparitions are ſeen only by melancholy, enthuſiaſtick and dreaming old Men and Women, or by crazy young ones, whoſe Heads are intoxicated and prepared for theſe Stories long before; and they are generally ſeen but by one at once, who is always in a Fright when he does ſee them; or elſe they are the Tricks and Juggles of Heathen and Popiſh Prieſts, or pretended Conjurers, to pick Men's Pockets, and promote ſome knaviſh and ſelfiſh Deſign. They are never done before a Houſe of Lords or Commons, or in a Prince's Court, or in the Streets before Multitudes of People, or in the Sight of ſeveral Men at the ſame time, of clear and unprejudiced Underſtandings, or of unqueſtionable Integrity.

When our Saviour appear'd to all his Diſciples together, he appeal'd to their Senſes, bid them not be afraid, but to put their Hands into his Side, and believe themſelves: He made his Aſcenſion before five Hundred People at once: His Miracle of the Loaves and Fiſhes was before five Thouſand; His turning Water into Wine was at a Publick Wedding; and the reſt were of the ſame kind: He went through *Judea* from Place to Place publickly doing Miracles, confirming and convincing all who were not wilfully blind, of the Truth of his Miſſion; and teaching a Doctrine of infinite Advantage to Mankind; whereas our preſent Workers or Seers of Miracles never tell us any Thing worth knowing; and we have no other Evidence that they are ſeen or done, but the Veracity of thoſe who tell them, who

may be deceiv'd themſelves, or invent Lies to deceive others. The Proof ought always to be equal to the Importance of the Thing to be believ'd; for when it is more likely that a Man ſhould tell a Lye, or be deceiv'd, than that a ſtrange Phænomenon ſhould be true, methinks there ſhould be no Difficulty to determine on which Side of the Queſtion we ſhould give our Aſſent; tho' in Fact moſt Men are ſo prepared by Education to believe theſe Stories, that they will believe the Relation of them in theſe Caſes, when they will believe them in nothing elſe.

If one or two Men affirm they ſaw another leap twenty Yards at one Leap, no one will doubt but they are Lyars; but if they teſtify that they ſaw a Goblin with Saucer Eyes and cloven Feet, in a Church yard, leap over the Tower; all the Town is in a Fright, and few of them will venture to walk abroad in a dark Night. Sometimes theſe Phantoms appear to one who is in Company with others, and no one can ſee them but himſelf; and yet all the reſt are terrify'd at his Relation, without reaſoning that they have the ſame or better Faculties of ſeeing than he has; and therefore that his Organs muſt either be indiſpoſed, or that he deſigns to impoſe upon them; but it paſſes for a Miracle, and then all doubts are ſolved, and all Enquiries at an End: All Men believe moſt of thoſe Stories to be falſe, and yet almoſt all believe ſome of them to be true, upon no better Evidence than they reject the reſt: The next Story of an old Woman inhabiting a Cat, or flying in the Air upon a Broom-

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ſtick, ſets them a ſtaring, and puts their Incredulity to a Non-plus. We often hear of a Spirit appearing to diſcover a Silver Spoon, a Purſe of hidden Money, or perhaps a private Murder; but are never told of a Tyrant, who by private Murders has ſlaughter'd Thouſands, and by publick Butcheries deſtroy'd Millions, ever drag'd out of his Court by good or evil Spirits, as a Terror to ſuch Monſters: Such an Inſtance would convince all Mankind; and if Almighty God thought fit to work by ſuch Engines, and intended that we ſhould believe in them or any of them, it is impoſſible to believe but he would take the propereſt Methods to gain our Aſſent.

From what I have ſaid, and much more which might be ſaid, I think I may with great Aſſurance conclude, that theſe capricious and fantaſtical Beings are not ſuffered to interfere and mingle with human Affairs, only to miſlead Men, and interrupt them in the Purſuit of their Duty; nor can I ſee any Foundation in Nature, Reaſon, or Scripture, to believe there are any ſuch as they are uſually repreſented to us, which neither agree and keep up to the Characters, Dignity and Excellence of good Angels, or the Sagacity, Office and Uſe of bad ones. Where are we commanded to believe, that the Devil plays hide and ſeek here on Earth; that he is permitted to run up and down and divert himſelf, by ſeducing ignorant Men and Women; killing Pigs, or making them miſcarry; entering into Cats, and making Noiſes, and playing Monkey-Tricks in Church-yards and empty Houſes, or any where elſe here on Earth, but in empty Heads?

We know that he was caſt headlong fr Heaven, is chain'd faſt in the Regions of Damned, and kept by the Power of the mighty from doing Miſchief to his Creatur and to ſay the contrary, ſeems to me the hig eſt Blaſphemy againſt Heaven it ſelf: F when we every Day ſee and feel the many D luſions to which human Condition is ſubjec how we are the Properties of Impoſtors, th Slaves to Tyrants, and perpetual Dupes o one another, and indeed are ſubject to daily and endleſs Frauds and Impoſitions; how ſhall we be a Match for the moſt ſubtle and moſt ſagacious Being out of Heaven? And is it poſſible to believe, that the good, merciful and providential God ſhould deſert, leave and betray us to ſo unequal a Combat, without giving to us ſuitable Precautions, Capacities and Powers to defend our ſelves?

I ſhall conclude by obſerving, that the Heathen Poets firſt invented theſe Stories, and the Heathen Prieſts ſtole them from them; as Badgers dig Holes for themſelves, and afterwards are ſtunk out of them by Foxes.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I Have endeavour'd, in my laſt, to ſhew, that no ſuch Beings as Spirits and Dæmons are permitted by the good God to mingle with, and

and perplex human Affairs; and if my Reaſoning is good, the whole Syſtem of Conjurers and Witches falls to the Ground: For I think it is agreed by all, if they have any Powers Supernatural, they receive them from Evil Spirits; and if theſe have no ſuch Powers themſelves, they can tranſmit them to none elſe.

But, methinks, the Advocates for Satan's Empire here on Earth, are not very conſiſtent with themſelves; and in the Works they attribute to him, do not Credit enough to his Abilities and Power.

They make this Prince a mighty Emperor:
But his Demands do ſpeak him Proud and Poor.

They give him a Power to do Miracles; make him Prince of the Air, Lord of the Hidden Minerals, Wiſe, Rich and Powerful, as well as Falſe, Treacherous and Wicked; and are fooliſh and preſumptuous enough to bring him upon the Stage as a Rival for Empire with the Almighty, but at the ſame time put a Fool's Coat and Cap upon him. His Skill has hitherto went no farther then to cram Pins down Children's Throats, and throw them into Fits; to turn Wort, kill Pigs, to ſell Winds, (Dog-cheap too) to put out Candles, or to make half blind People ſee two at once; to help Hares to run away from the Dogs; to make Noiſes, or to diſcourage his faithful Votaries at *Newgate*, by interloping upon their Trade of diſcovering ſtolen Goods; and ſuch like important Feats of Knight Errantry. And what is yet worſe, I cannot find in theſe laſt eighteen

eighteen hundred Years, that with all his Cunning he has invented one new Trick, but goes on in the ſame dull Road; for there is ſcarce a Story told of a Spirit, or a Witch who has play'd Pranks in the next Pariſh, but we have the ſame Story, or one very like it, in *Cicero*'s Tract *de Divinatione*.

He always plays at ſmall Games, and lives moſtly upon Neck-Beef. His Intrigues are all with old Women, whoſe Teats he ſuck (which by the Way, ſhews but a ſcurvy Taſte) and, when he has gain'd his Ends of them, feeds them only with Bread and Water, and gives them but a Groat in their Pockets to buy Tobacco; which, in my Mind, is very ungallant, not to ſay niggardly and ungenerous in ſo great a Potentate, who has all the Riches of the hidden World within his Dominions. I cannot find, in all my Reading, that he has expended as much in five hundred Years laſt paſt, as would have carried one Election.

Methinks, he might have learnt a little more Wit from his faithful Emiſſaries here on Earth, who throw and ſcatter about Money, as if there was never to be an End of it; and get him more Votaries in a Week, than he can purchaſe for himſelf in a Century, and put him to not a Penny of Charge neither; for they buy People with their own Money: But to keep ſuch a Coil and Clutter about an old Woman, and then leave her to be hang'd, that he may get her into his Clutches a Month ſooner, is very ungrateful; and, as I conceive, wholly unſuitable to a Perſon of his Rank and Figure.

I ſhould

I ſhould have imagin'd, that it would have been more agreeable to the Wiſdom and Cunning always attributed to him, in Imitation of his Betters, to have open'd his Purſe-Strings, and have purchaſed People of more Importance, and who could do him more real Service. I fancy that I know ſome of them, who would be ready to take his Money, if they knew where he was to be ſpoken with; and who are Men of nice Honour, and would not betray or break their Word with him, whatever they may do with their Countrymen.

Beſides; I conceive, it is very Impolitick in one of his Sagacity, and in one who has ſo many able Miniſters in his own Dominions, and elſewhere, to act ſo incautious a Part. It is very well known, a Plot diſcover'd, or a Rebellion quelled, gives new Credit and Reputation to the Conquerors, who always make uſe of them to ſettle their own Empire, effectually to ſubdue their Enemies, to leſſen their Powers, and to force them for the moſt part to change Sides; and in Fact, one Witch hang'd or burnt, makes old *Beelzebub* a great many Adverſaries, and frightens Thouſands from having any more to do with him.

For theſe Reaſons, I doubt, he is ſhrewdly bely'd by thoſe from whom he might expect better Uſage; and that all the Stories commonly told about, and believ'd concerning him, are invented and credited by ſuch only as have much leſs Wit, or not much more Honeſty, than himſelf. To enter into a Detail of them, is endleſs, as well as unneceſſary to my Purpoſe; it having been unqueſtionably ſhewn already.

already by the worthy Dr. *Hutchinſon*, a Biſhop in *Ireland*, from very many Inſtances, that theſe Stories are Fictions, Cheats or Deluſions, and that the Belief of them is neither conſiſtent with Reaſon or Religion: But I ſhall add ſome more Obſervations of my own, to what he hath with great Piety and Judgment publiſh'd upon this Subject, and ſhall begin with tracing the Genealogy of theſe Phantoms.

The firſt Inventors of them, as far as we know any thing of the Matter, were the *Egyptians*, who believ'd, that the Spirits of the Deceas'd always attended their Bodies wherever they were depoſited; and therefore embalm'd them with rich Gums and Spices, to preſerve their Figure entire, and entombed them in ſtately Mauſolœums, with coſtly Appartments for their Souls to ſolace in; which Opinion gave Occaſion to their building the expenſive and uſeleſs Pyramids, to receive Souls of a higher Degree. From *Ægypt*, theſe aiery Beings were tranſported into *Greece*, and thence to *Rome*; and the *Greek* and *Roman* Poets embelliſhed their Fictions with them, and their Prieſts made their Advantages of them; and both Prieſts and Poets added many more Inventions of their own: They filled their Woods, Groves, Rivers, Rocks, Houſes, and the Air it ſelf, with Romantick Deities: They had their Demi-gods, Satyrs, Dryads, Hemi-Dryads, Penates, Lares, Fauns, Nymphs, *&c.* And when the general Belief of the Exiſtence of ſuch Beings was well eſtabliſhed, without Doubt they were often ſeen and talked with.

For Fear does Things ſo like a Witch,
'Tis hard to find out which is which.

They animated almoſt every Thing in Nature; and attributed even the Paſſions and Qualities of the Mind to peculiar Deities, who preſided over them, or directed and cauſed them: *Mars* inſpired Courage and Magnanimity; *Venus*, Love; *Mercury*, Cunning; and *Apollo* and his Muſes, Wiſdom, and poetick Raptures, *&c.* A Good and Evil Genius attended every Man, and his Virtues and Vices were eſteemed to be Spirits: A wicked Man had an evil Spirit; a virtuous Man a good one; a Wrangler had a Spirit of Contradiction; People who could not ſpeak, had a dumb Spirit; a malicious Man, a Spirit of Envy; and one who wanted Veracity, a Spirit of Lying; and ſo on. Diſtempers too which were uncommon, and could not eaſily be accounted for, as Apoplexies, Epilepſies, and other Fits and Trances, were imputed to Spirits and Dæmons; and at laſt theſe Deluſions, which were only the Sallies of Poets, or the Inventions of Prieſts, became the real Opinions and Religion of the common People, who are always ready to lick up the Froth of their Betters.

When the Heathens came into Chriſtianity, they brought in theſe Phantoms with them, and accounted for oracular Predictions, and the other Cheats and Juggles of their former Prieſts, by the Powers of theſe Dæmons; and the Popiſh Prieſts have ſince improved upon their Pagan Predeceſſors, and made their Fictions turn to much better Account than putting them in Verſe.

Verſe. The Heathen Dryads and Nymphs, were charged into Fairies, good and evil Genij into Conjurers and black and white Witches, and Saints are made to ſupply the Offices of Demi-gods; and by this lucky Turn they made a very good Penny of their Charms, Exorciſms, Beads, Relicks, and Holy Water; and were paid for many Maſſes, to invoke their Saints, in whom it ſeems they had a very good Intereſt.

There was ſcarce a Church-yard, an old or empty Houſe, which was not peſtered with theſe airy Inhabitants, nor a Man who had murdered himſelf, or who was murdered by another, or had forgot ſomething in his Life-time, who did not appear to tell his own Story; nor could be perſwaded to quit his new Abode till the Holy Man had laid him in the *Red-Sea*, who without doubt was very well paid for his Skill and Pains. We may be ſure ſo gainful a Trade was duly cheriſhed and cultivated by conſtant Juggles and Impoſtures, and all Advantages were taken of ſurpriſing and unuſual Phænomena's of Nature. By the Help of Glaſſes, unuſual Voices and Noiſes, Phoſphorus, Magick-Lanthorns, Feats of *Legerdemain* and Colluſion and Confederacy, theſe Prejudices were artfully kept up, and weak and enthuſiaſtick People were made to believe, ſometimes to ſee, and afterwards to publiſh to others their Viſions, or whatever elſe their Deceivers had Occaſion for; whoſe Power at the ſame time was ſo great, that the few intelligent Men who ſaw and deteſted theſe Impieties, durſt not contend with the Prejudices of the People, abetted by the Rage of the Popiſh Prieſts.

Many

Many of our firſt Reformers were but weak Men, and I doubt ſome of them were not very honeſt ones, and therefore generally fell into theſe Stories: However, they loſt a great deal of Ground in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; but were returned upon us with a full Swing by her Succeſſor, who brought from *Scotland* with him Legions of theſe ſubterranean Inhabitants, who methinks ſhould more properly have come from a warmer Climate. That bright ſagacious and Royal Author, wrote and publiſhed a very learned Book of Dæmonology, which effectually confuted all Disbelievers; for ſure no Man, who hoped for any Preferment, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, would have the ill Manners to diſpute his Majeſty's great Judgment and Royal Authority. When *Nero* proclaimed himſelf the beſt Poet in his Dominions by Sound of Trumpet, no Man durſt contend for the Laurel with one who had Fifty Legions at his Command: So an Act of Parliament was paſſed for hanging of Witches; and his Majeſty himſelf was graciouſly pleaſed to inform his Judges by what Marks they might be known, and many of them were hanged accordingly; but as ill Luck would have it, they multiplied like the Blood of the Martyrs, and the more they hanged, the more were left behind, during his whole Reign.

In *Charles* the Firſt's Time, they began to decreaſe again, by letting them alone, till at the End of the Civil War, a new Sett of Saints got into the Saddle, and then again a freſh Perſecution began againſt old Women, who were hanged plentifully at every Aſſizes.

Some

trary Governments than in Free States. The King of *Spain*'s and Pope's Dominions have more of them than *France* and the *German* Principalities, where Prieſtcraft does not ride ſo triumphant; and theſe have much more than *Venice*, *Genoa*, and the Popiſh Hans Towns.

The ſame is equally true of Proteſtant Countries; *Muſcovy*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Lapland*, have more of them than *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and *Scotland* and *Ireland* more than *England*, where no Clergymen of any Credit abet theſe Frauds; and conſequently the Devil's Empire here is almoſt at an End, how conſiderable ſoever it has been formerly; and in *Holland* he has nothing at all to do, though that Country lies ſo near his other Territories, that I wonder he ſhould not ſometimes ſhorten his Journey, or at leaſt now and then take it in his Way, though only to try what may be done amongſt the *Hogan Mogans*.

From all which has been ſaid, I think I may reaſonably conclude, that he is kept at Home by the Will of the Almighty, ſuffering the Puniſhment due to his Rebellion, and has no Power over others, till for their Diſobedience to the Commands of Heaven, they are delivered into his Cuſtody to be tormented, and made juſt Objects of Divine Vengeance: And I ſhall take the Liberty further to add, that true Religion is ſo well ſupported by Reaſon and Revelation, that there is no Neceſſity of telling Lies in its Defence, and putting it upon the ſame Bottom with the Heathen Superſtitions, and the Popiſh Forgeries and Impoſtures, which, when diſcovered, will make

Twenty

Twenty Infidels for One true Believer that is made by ſuch Methods.

I am, &c.

SIR,

AFTER all that has been ſaid of Arbitrary Power, and of its hideous Nature and Effects, it will fall properly in, to ſay ſomething here of the Reſtraints which all wiſe and fortunate Nations ought to put, and have ever put, upon their Magiſtrates. This is what I promiſed Nine Months ago to do; and this is what I propoſe to do in this Letter and the following.

No wiſe Nation in the World ever truſted to the ſole Management, meer Mercy, and abſolute Diſcretion of its own Magiſtrates, when it could help doing it; and no Series of Magiſtrates ever had abſolute Power over any Nation, but they turned the ſame to its Ruin, and their own wild Gratifications and ill-judg'd Profit. As long as the Paſſions of Men govern them, they will always govern by their Paſſions, and their Paſſions will always increaſe with their Power. And therefore, whenever a whole People, or any Part of them, croſs the Paſſions of any Man that governs them, he will turn his Paſſions againſt a whole People, or any Number of them that offend him, and will deſtroy a whole People rather than thwart his Paſſions. This is evident in Ten Thou-

ſand

ſand Inſtances: and the Publick will ever, and certainly, be ſacrificed to private Luſt, when private Luſt governs the Publick. Nothing but Fear and ſelfiſh Conſiderations can keep Men within any reaſonable Bounds; and nothing but the Abſence of Fear can ſet Men at Defiance with Society, and prompt them to oppreſs it. It was therefore well judged of the *Spartan Ephori*, when they erected an Altar to *Fear*, as the moſt proper Divinity to reſtrain the wild Ambition of Men, and to keep their Kings within the Confines of their Duty.

A Nation has but two Sorts of Uſurpation to fear, one from their Neighbours, and another from their own Magiſtrates; nor is a foreign Uſurpation more formidable than a domeſtick, which is the moſt dangerous of the Two, by being hardeſt to remove; and generally ſtealing upon the People by Degrees, is fix'd before it is ſcarce felt or apprehended: Like wild Beaſts in a Wood, beſet with Toils as yet unſeen by them, they think themſelves free; but ſtriving to eſcape, find themſelves caught in the Chains, which had long been preparing for them, and ſtealing upon them. Beſides, for One People undone by Foreign Invaders, Ten have been undone by their own Native Rogues, who were intruſted to defend them; but inſtead of it, either betrayed them to theſe Invaders, or ſeized traiterouſly for themſelves thoſe Rights which they were ſworn to preſerve for others; and then by Oppreſſion and Cruelty, and the other Conſequences of their Treachery, reduced them to an utter Diſ-

ability of defending themſelves againſt any Invaſion whatſoever.

What has made *Italy* and *Aſia* Deſarts, and their remaining Inhabitants ſtarving and contemptible Cowards? Not the Inundation of barbarous Nations; though that Inundation was owing to the Weakneſs of the Inhabitants, weakened and undone by their baſe and tyrannical Governours: But they have been made Deſarts by the continued Depredations of their execrable Princes, who have acted as if they had been Scythes in the Hand of *Satan* to mow down the Race of Men. There is a certain old *Italian* Tyrant, now living, who though he has by ſtudied Rapine converted into a Wilderneſs a Country which Nature has made a Paradiſe, yet is not weary nor aſhamed of his Rapine, but goes on to ſuck and ſqueeze the remaining Blood of his Ghoſtly Subjects; and next to his viſiting Seven Altars a-Day, (a Way he has of compounding with God for being a peſtilent Tyrant to his Creatures) I ſay, his only Employment, beſides this his devout and impudent Mockery of God, is to ſit contriving with his faithful Miniſtry, which of his Subjects may probably be worth a Hundred Pounds, and how to cheat him or rob him of that Hundred Pounds.

This ſame grand Prince has now ſcarce any other Buſineſs for his Soldiers, but that of employing them directly againſt his own People: Nor are they fit for any other Employment, for One *Engliſh* Regiment would beat Seven of his. So that his paltry Forces, many of them, are placed upon his Frontiers, not to defend

defend him from an Invaſion, a Task they are not equal to, but to keep his wretched Subjects from running away from Famine and his Government —— a Relief which is however barbarouſly denied them by this old polite Tyrant! They muſt ſtay and periſh under him; nor will he ſuffer them to ſeek elſewhere that Support of Life, of which his diabolical Government deprives them at Home; as if when he had robbed them of their Labour and their Life, he alſo wanted their Skins.

There is not upon Earth a Nation, which having had unaccountable Magiſtrates, has not felt them to have been crying and conſuming Miſchiefs. In truth, where they are moſt limited, it has been often as much as a whole People could do to reſtrain them to their Truſt, and to keep them from Violence; and ſuch frequently has been their Propenſity to be lawleſs, that nothing but Violence, and ſometimes nothing but a violent Death, could cure them of their Violence. This Evil has its Root in humane Nature; Men will never think they have enough, whilſt they can take more, nor be content with a Part, when they can ſeize the Whole. We are, indeed, told of ſome Abſolute Princes, who have been very good Men and no Oppreſſors. But the Nature of their Power rendered their good Qualities almoſt uſeleſs, and gave to others an Opportunity of doing in their Name, and by their Authority, Miſchiefs which perhaps they themſelves abhorred. Beſides, in any Series of Arbitrary Princes upon Earth, ſcarce out of Ten can One be named who was tolerable,

and

and who either did not himſelf prove an inhumane Tyrant, or ſuffered his Miniſters to be ſo: And when an Abſolute Prince has had great Parts, they generally went to his Grave with him, and ſcarce ever proved hereditary. In truth, the Children of great Princes have almoſt always proved very unlike them.

I own, the firſt of the Line has ſometimes acted plauſibly, and gained by doing ſo dangerous Credit and Popularity. But if he were an Angel he is never to be forgiven, becauſe it is out of his Power what his Succeſſor ſhall prove. The Crocodile's Egg does no Miſchief whilſt it continues an Egg; but out of it is hatched a Crocodile, and by it the curſed Race of Deſtroyers is continued. D. *Heinſius* ſays very juſtly, *Nec unquam ſervitus, ne ſpecioſa quidem, legit quibus ſerviat, ſed accipit.* "The "moſt plauſible Slavery is attended with this "eternal Misfortune, that it has no Choice of "a Maſter, but muſt accept of a Maſter, ſuch "as Chance ſends." *Veſpaſian* left to the *Romans* for their Prince the beneficent *Titus*, but he alſo left them the raging and bloody *Domitian.*

If *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus* had been really Gods, as their Flatterers made them, yet their leaving behind them ſuch a Race of Succeſſors, (who proved a Race of Dæmons) entitles them to the Characters of deteſtable Tyrants to all Eternity. *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, were the precious and bloody Bleſſings theſe beneficent Princes left —— Names univerſally abhorred, whilſt thoſe of *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus* are generally adored: And yet to *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus* were Mankind indebted for theſe

Peſts of Mankind: Nor were they ſo great Peſts as were *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, who did much more Miſchief, and deſtroy'd the World more than either *Nero* or *Caligula*, beſides leaving them to deſtroy it ſtill further.

People rarely think of this, but it is literally true. What! will ſome ſay, the generous *Cæſar* and the mild *Auguſtus* do more Miſchief than the wild *Caligula* and the Savage *Nero*! Yes, fifty to one: *Nero* deſtroy'd his Twenties, *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus* their Twenty Thouſands; and for *Nero*, we may thank *Julius* and *Auguſtus*. *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, took *Rome* chiefly for the Scene of their Cruelty, and deſtroy'd many great and good Men, ſome out of Wantonneſs, and more out of Jealouſy: But *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus* made *Rome* and the World their Slaughter-houſe, and deſtroyed more great and good Men by far than the other Four, as butchering Monſters as they were: And as to publick Rapine and general Depopulation, they exceeded them ſtill further. Indeed, as to heroick and diffuſive Miſchief and Villainy, the Difference between them was as great as between *Jack Straw* and a late *Grand Monarque*. The Truth is, *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus* had Art and great Qualities, which are far from excuſing the Evils they did; and their Succeſſors having all their Ambition, but wanting their great Qualities and Diſcretion, took the direct Road to Hatred.

An unreſtrain'd Power of one Man, or a few, over all, is ſuch an extravagant Deviation from Reaſon and Nature, that neither *Briareus* with his many Hands, nor the *Hydra* with its

its numerous Heads, nor the *Centaurs*, half Man and half Beaſt, were Things more unſhapen, monſtrous and frightful: Nor would theſe Fictions appear more fabulous and improbable, than ſuch Power would to a free People, who never had heard of it before. What could ſeem to common Senſe a wilder *Chimera*, than that one Man, not created with Features and Endowments different from other Men, ſhould have a laſting Right from his Blood, or his Pride, or his Madneſs, to domineer over all Men, and to rule, kill, ſtarve, famiſh, baniſh, and impriſon, as many as he pleaſed?

This Power is indeed ſo monſtrous, that it turns Men that have it into Monſters; and therefore the moſt amiable and unexceptionable Man upon Earth, is not to be truſted with it. Men change with their Stations, and Power of any Sort rarely alters them for the better; but on the contrary, has often turn'd a very good Man into a very bad. This ſhews that Men forbear Evil, chiefly to avoid the ill Conſequences of it to themſelves, and for want of Opportunity and Protection; and finding both in Power, they prove, by making uſe of them, that their Virtue was only Self-love, and Fear of Puniſhment. Thus Men of the beſt and brighteſt Characters have often done moſt Miſchief, and by well ſerving their Country, have been enabled to deſtroy it: And they were good and evil from one and the ſame Motive, a Paſſion for themſelves, and their own Security or Glory.

Thus the Houſe of the *Medicis*, by being very good Commonwealths Men, and by ſer-

ving and obliging almoſt every Family in *Florence*, gained Credit enough by this their generous Behaviour, to enſlave that great and powerful City. *Idque apud imperitos, humanitas vocabatur, quod pars ſervitutis erat.* *Pericles* adminiſtered the Government of *Athens* with great Sufficiency; but he broke down the Fences of its Liberty, and ruled arbitrarily all his Days. *Agathocles* fought ſucceſsfully for the City of *Syracuſe*, and as ſucceſsfully againſt it; and having defended the Citizens againſt their Enemies, he afterwards ſhewed himſelf their greateſt, by killing in one great Maſſacre all the chief and beſt of them, and by crowning himſelf Tyrant over all the reſt. *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, were great and excellent Commanders, and conquered many great Kings and Nations: But they made all the Fruits of their Victories their own; and from being very good Soldiers, made themſelves moſt pernicious and arbitrary Magiſtrates.

Now all theſe Great Men derived, from the Good they did, a Capacity to do much more Evil: So that as a Power to do great Good, does naturally include in it an Opportunity of doing much Evil; ſo thoſe who are in the Poſſeſſion of Power, as all Magiſtrates are, ought above all other Men to be narrowly watched, and checked with Reſtraints ſtronger than their Temptations to break them; and every Crime of theirs ought to be more penal, as it is evidently more pernicious, than the ſame Crime in any other ſort of Men. For, beſides that *quales in Republica Principes eſſent,*

tales

tales reliquos ſolere eſſe Cives; that is, that People are generally virtuous or corrupt as their Magiſtrates are; there is ſomething exceeding ſolemn and important in the Nature of this great Truſt; and accordingly as it is obſerved or betrayed, a Country is happy or miſerable: And when any one Breach of it paſſes once off with Impunity, another will ſoon follow it; and in Time it will be conſidered no longer as a Truſt, but an Eſtate.

So dangerous a Thing is an ill Precedent, which is often an Inlet to an endleſs Train of Miſchiefs; and ſo depraved is the Nature of Man, that we juſtify our ſelves in Wickedneſs by Examples that cannot be juſtified. An Action at firſt reckoned diſhoneſt, by being practiſed once or twice, becomes unblameable; and that which was at firſt accounted an Extortion, grows by Uſe to be thought but a Perquiſite. Thus Evil is mitigated, nay, cancelled, by Repetition, which is a real Aggravation of Evil; and there are certain Rogueries in Office, which being long practiſed, and by many, are at laſt reckoned as ſacred as the Truſt againſt which they are committed;—— a ſufficient Reaſon for providing by great and certain Penalties that none be committed.

I am, &c.

SIR,

HOW cautiouſly and partially Men in Power are to be truſted, and how much to be reſtrain'd, appears from hence, that almoſt every civil Evil begins from Courts, and the Redreſs of every civil Evil from an Oppoſition to the Pretentions and Exceſſes of Courts. This is ſo univerſally true, that no Nation ever continued happy, whoſe chief Magiſtrate was its abſolute Maſter; and no Nation miſerable, whoſe ſupreme Power was properly checked and divided. Nations are then free, when their Magiſtrates are their Servants; and then Slaves, when their Magiſtrates are their Maſters: The Commonwealth does not belong to them, but they belong to the Commonwealth. *Tacitus* ſays with great Truth, *Nec unquam ſatis fida potentia ubi nimis eſt*: "Power without Controul, is never to be "truſted." Every Nation has moſt to fear from its own Magiſtates; becauſe almoſt all Nations have ſuffer'd moſt from their own Magiſtrates.

Cicero, mentioning the Condition of *Cilicia*, of which he was Proconſul, in a Letter to *Appius Pulcher*, ſays, that he "was moved by Pity as "well as Juſtice, to relieve from their Miſeries "the undone Provincial Cities, undone chiefly "by their own Magiſtrates." It ſeems *Cicero* was that ſort of whimſical Man, that he had really

really at Heart to do Good to the People whom he govern'd —— an odd and impracticable Character; which, had he lived ſince, would have render'd him utterly unfit for any manner of Preferment. He did not ſo much as know that he was to make the moſt of his Place and his Power, let what would become of the People —— A Leſſon which other Governors have amply learned.

Ariſtotle, makes it the great Argument and Proof of Liberty, that they who command do alſo obey. And indeed all legal and juſt Power being but a Truſt, whoever executes the ſame, does an Act of Obedience, as well as Command: And every Truſt is beſt executed, where thoſe who have it are anſwerable for it; elſe it never will be executed; but were it is great and publick, is much more likely to be abuſed, violated, and turn'd to the Deſtruction of thoſe, who, for their own Preſervation gave it. Nor is a People to be told, that ſuch as want to be truſted with extraordinary Power of any Kind, have always been Enemies to Abitrary Power; for ſo are all Men when they have it not, and expect no Advantage from it. Who was a greater Patriot than Sir *Thomas Wentworth*? And who was a more Arbitrary Miniſter than *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*? All Men are for confining Power when it is over them, and for extending it when they are in it. *Oliver Cromwell* was once heartily in the Principles of Liberty, and afterwards more heartily in thoſe of Tyranny: And I could name two great Parties in *England*, who when they were out of

Power, ſeemed to place the Sum of Publick Spirit, in entrenching upon the Royal Authority; and when they were in Power, to know no other Law but the Prerogative Royal. So unlike is the ſame Man to himſelf in different Situations, and yet ſtill very conſiſtent with the Genius of humane Nature!

Men ſometimes do actually Good in order to do Evil. Sejanus, *incipiente adhuc poteſtate, bonis conciliis noteſcere volebat*: "*Sejanus*, in "the Beginning of his Adminiſtration, would "found the Reputation of a good Miniſter in "laudable Meaſures." But there never prov'd a worſe Miniſter than *Sejanus*. *Solyman*, the *Turkiſh* Emperor, uſed to ſay, that a Prince, to be well ſerved by any Miniſter, muſt never uſe any Miniſter above once: And this Saying is thus far true generally, that Men the longer they grow in Power, the worſe they grow. I think it is *Tacitus* who ſays, *Superbire homines etiam annua deſignatione*; *quid ſi honorem per quinquennium agitent?* "If an annual Election "to Power, makes Men inſolent; what muſt "be their Pitch of Inſolence, if they hold it "five or ſeven Years?" *Ariſtotle* finds great fault with the Senate of *Sparta*, for being perpetual; and I think he ſays, that an unchang'd or an hereditary Senate falls into Dotage.

Many of the Eccleſiaſticks have been for truſting their Favourite Princes (and no other) with unlimited Power over others: But in every Thing that regarded themſelves and their Intereſt, they have never failed to ſtipulate for the ſtricteſt Limitations upon all Princes, even upon thoſe whom over the reſt of the World they

they wiſhed Arbitrary, and endeavoured by every Means to make ſo. Nor did ever any Man give up the Freedom of his Country, but he meant to preſerve his own; and hoped to continue a Freeman, as a Reward of his helping to make other People Slaves; and no Man ever ſet up a Tyrant, but in hopes of going Shares in his Tyranny; and upon theſe Terms and Expectations alone it is, that any Body of Men, or indeed any Army, is brought to aid and eſtabliſh any Uſurper. Paſſive Obedience was always intended for other People than thoſe who preached it. Intereſt cannot lie; tho' he does, who ſays that he will ſubmit to Servitude when he can avoid it.

Who would eſtabliſh a Bank in an arbitrary Country, or truſt his Money conſtantly there? In *Denmark*, the Miniſters and Minions of the Prince think their Money ſafeſt out of his Dominions, and generally tranſmit the ſame to *Hamburgh*, and other free Cities, where the Magiſtrates have no divine Right to lay violent Hands upon what is none of theirs. Even what we gain by Rapine in a Land of Oppreſſion, we are willing to ſave by the juſt Laws of Liberty, in a Country of Liberty. In *England* it ſelf, and in our own free Conſtitution; if the Bank of *England* was put under the abſolute Direction and Power of the Court, I doubt Stock would ſoon grow very cheap, and Sellers multiply very faſt. Or if the Government of the Bank, which is purely Republican, were improved into Monarchical; I fancy our higheſt Monarchy-Men would rail at the Change, and haſten to ſell out, notwithſtanding their invio-

lable Attachment to the divine Right of Monarchy —— Unleſs perhaps they think that abſolute Monarchy does beſt protect their Power, but a Free State their Money. I am indeed of Opinion, that upon ſuch a Change, the Bank would be broke, and ſhut up in three Days.

All this ſhews, that even Men who are againſt Liberty in General, do contend for it in Particulars, and in all Particulars which affect themſelves. Even *Lauderdale*, a *Tyrconnel*, or a *Jefferies*, who were all for making the Crown abſolute, as long as they could be, as they were, the abſolute Miniſters of Oppreſſion under it, would none of them, I dare ſay, have encouraged the Maxim of the Prince's rewarding his Miniſters and faithful Oppreſſors with the Bow-String, as well as they themſelves were entitled to that Reward! and as much as the *Turkiſh* Genius of Government did in other Inſtances ſuit their own!

When we hear any ſort of Men complain, as ſome ſort of Men do frequently complain, That the Crown wants Power; we ſhould ask them, Whether they mean over themſelves? And if they anſwer, *No*; as certainly they will if they ſpeak Truth; we may further ask them Why ſhould they judge for themſelves any more than others, or claim to themſelves a Liberty and an Exemption which they will not allow to others? The Truth is, they who complain thus, do only want to encreaſe the Power of the Crown, becauſe by it their own would be encreaſed, and other Advantages acquired.

The Fox in the Fable, wanted to rob a Hen-rooſt, or do ſome ſuch Prank, humbly beſought

ſought Admittance and Houſe-Room only for his Head; but when he got in his Head, his whole Body preſently followed: And Courts, more crafty as well as more craving, than that deſigning Animal, have ſcarce ever got an Inch of Power, but they have ſtretch'd it to an Ell; and when they have got in but a Finger, their whole Train has followed. *Piſiſtratus* having procured from the City of *Athens*, fifty Fellows arm'd only with Cudgels, for the Security of his Perſon from falſe and lying Dangers, improv'd them into an Army, and by it enſlav'd that Free State. And I have read ſomewhere, of the States of a Country, who having wildly granted to their Prince a Power of raiſing Money by his own Authority; in Caſes of great Neceſſity; every Caſe ever afterwards, was a Caſe of great Neceſſity; and his Neceſſities multiplied ſo faſt, that the whole Wealth of the Country was ſwallowed up to ſupply them: As it always will be in every Country, where thoſe who ask are ſuffer'd to judge what ought to be given. —— A Practice contrary to common Senſe, and which renders Liberty and Property perfectly precarious; and where it is continued, will end in taking without asking.

I have heard of a Court ſomewhere Abroad, which having ask'd upon a particular Occaſion four Hundred thouſand Pounds of the States, found Ways and Means of ſtretching that Sum to two Millions. It was obſerv'd of the ſame Court, that it had the Art of raiſing Mole-hills into Mountains, and of ſinking Mountains into Mole-hills; of disbanding Armies without breaking them; of encreaſing Debts by the

Means

Means of paying them; of being engaged in an expenſive War during a profound Peace; of gaining for the Country at a vaſt Charge, Advantages which the Country never reaped, nor ſaw; of employing Money obviouſly againſt the Intereſt of that Nation, and yet getting the Nation to pay it; of purchaſing other Countries at the Expence of their own, and againſt its Intereſt; of procuring from the Country at one Time a great Sum, without telling why it was wanted, but promiſing to tell, and yet never telling; and in fine, after many other the like Feats, of obtaining by an Arret of Security, Remiſſion for all their paſt Faults, without owning any, and yet going on to commit more: For as *Tully* well obſerves, *Qui ſemel verecundiæ fines tranſierit, eum bene & naviter oportet eſſe impudentem.* Cicer. Epiſt. ad Lucceium Quinti Fil.

But theſe Things concern not us; and I only bring them for Examples, like other old Stories of *Greece* and *Rome*. I hope we ſhall never fall into the like Misfortunes and Miſmanagements our ſelves.

I am, &c.

SIR,

Machiavel tells us, that it is rare to find out a Man perfectly Good or perfectly Bad; Men generally ſwim between the two Extremes, and ſcarce any Man is as good as he himſelf, his

his Friends, or his Party make him; or as bad as he is repreſented by his perſonal or party Enemies. Ask a *Whig* the Character of a neighbouring *Tory*, and he repreſents him as a *Jacobite*, an Enemy to publick Liberty, and a Perſecutor; and on the other Side, if you enquire the Other's Character from his *Tory* Godfather out of Baptiſm, he ſhall paſs for a Commonwealth's-Man, an Enemy to all ſorts of Monarchy, and an Encourager of all Kinds of Licentiouſneſs and Faction; whereas an indifferent Man, converſing with each of them, ſhall find both aim at the ſame Thing, and their Oppoſition to proceed only from not converſing together, from an Intention to thwart one another, or from the Intrigues of thoſe who reap Advantage by ſetting them together by the Ears. 'Tis too great a Compliment to pay to our Adverſaries, to ſuppoſe them to act upon a miſtaken Principle againſt their real Intereſt; and 'tis certainly the Intereſt of every Man to be free from Oppreſſion, and he will joyn in Meaſures to be ſo, if he is not terrified by the Fear of greater Oppreſſion: It is undoubtedly true, that there are many *Jacobites* in *England*; but 'tis thinking better of them than they deſerve, if we believe they will be ſo againſt their own Intereſts; and therefore, excepting the very Few, who can hope to receive the Advantages of ſuch a Revolution, the reſt may be converted by ſhewing them that they can find better Protection and Security from the preſent Eſtabliſhment, than by hazarding their Lives and Eſtates, and their Country's Happineſs, in bringing their Deſigns to paſs. The only

only dangerous *Jacobites* I ever fear'd, were thoſe who took the ſame Methods to keep out the Son, as turn'd out the Father.

Whilſt Men enjoy Protection, Plenty, and Happineſs, they will always deſire to continue them, and never look after Revolutions; but when they loſe, or fancy they loſe, thoſe Advantages, which they ever will think they have a Right to enjoy, they will endeavour to change their Condition, tho' in the Attempt they often change it for the worſe; therefore, whoever would endeavour to preſerve a preſent Eſtabliſhment, muſt make the People eaſy and contented under it, and to find their own Account in the Continuance of it: The Inſtruments of Tyranny (of which I hope we ſhall never have any amongſt us) are never to be depended upon in any Exigency; they will always be able to ſhift for themſelves, and know how to make an Intereſt with a new Government, by betraying the old; which was the Caſe of the late King *James*, and will ever be the Caſe of others in the like Circumſtances

Every Man therefore, who is ſincerely and heartily attach'd to the Intereſt of his preſent Majeſty, will endeavour to cheriſh, cultivate, and make a proper Uſe of his excellent Diſpoſitions to protect and make his People happy, and to preſerve our Conſtitution in Church and State upon its true and ſolid Baſis. Old Land-Marks are never to be remov'd, without producing Conteſts and Law-Suits, which for the moſt Part ruin both Parties. We have an excellent Conſtitution at preſent; and if not the beſt which can be formed in a *Utopian* Commonwealth, yet

yet I doubt the beſt we are capable of receiving. The preſent Diſtribution of Property renders us incapable of changing it for the better; and probably any Attempt to change it for the better, would conclude in an Abſolute Monarchy. There are ſo many Intereſts engag'd to ſupport it, that whoever gets Power enough to deſtroy theſe Intereſts, will have Power enough to ſet up himſelf as *Oliver Cromwell* did, and every one elſe will do in the ſame Circumſtances, or at leaſt no wiſe Man will truſt to his Moderation.

No Man of Senſe and Fortune will venture the Happineſs he is in full Poſſeſſion of for imaginary Viſions, and throw the Dice for his own Eſtate: Such deſperate Gameſters carry their Whole about them, and their future Expectations depend upon Confuſion, and the Miſery of others; but ſuch as have much to fear, and little to hope for, will acquieſce in their preſent Condition. This being the true Circumſtance of the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, rich Merchants, and the Body of the People, I hope they will concur in ſuch Meaſures as will moſt effectually preſerve our preſent Eſtabliſhment, and ſupport the juſt Rights of the Crown and the Liberties of the People, oppoſe all Uſurpations on either Side, and endeavour in the moſt exemplary Manner, to puniſh all who ſhall dare to interpoſe between the Throne and the Subject, and ſpoil the Harmony which alone can make them both happy.

This is the Intereſt of all Parties, and of every Man in them, (very few excepted in reſpect of the reſt, who make their Market of

the others Differences) I could never yet ſee a juſt Bone of Contention between them. It can be of no Conſequence to either Party, if they are governed well, whether a Man of one Denomination or another governs them; and if they are oppreſſed, it is no Conſolation, that it is done by one whom they formerly called a Friend; whereas if they would agree together, no one durſt oppreſs them. Thoſe who are called *Whigs*, have no Intention to injure the Legal Eſtabliſhment of the Church; and Seven Years Experience, when they have had the whole Power in their Hands, may convince any one they did not intend it; and the *Tories* tell us, they deſire no more than that Eſtabliſhment, and have no Thoughts of breaking in upon the Act of Toleration, which is the Right of all Mankind. The *Whigs* can have no Motive to do the One, nor the *Tories* the Other, when Party Oppoſition is laid aſide; for how is a *Whig* injured by another's receiving Advantages which he has no Right to, and receives no Prejudice by, but may receive Benefit from, by providing for his Children, Relations, or Friends? And how is a *Tory* injured in a quiet Neighbour's worſhipping God his own Way, any more than if he did not worſhip him at all, which is the Caſe of Thouſands who are unmoleſted? The Diſtinctions about Government are at an end: Moſt of the *Tories* are aſhamed of their old Arbitrary Principles; and many of the Modern *Whigs* ought to be aſhamed of taking them up; and indeed they have no Right to reproach one another with either Practices or Principles, for both have ſhewn their

their wrong Ends in their Turns; and they have brought Matters at laſt to that paſs, that whilſt they have been throwing the Dice for Victory, Sharpers have been drawing the Stakes.

Indeed, I can't ſee what we differ about: We fight at Blindman's-Buff, and fall upon our Friends as well as Enemies: All the Grounds of Diſtinction are now at an end, and the honeſt and wiſe Men of all Parties mean the ſame Thing, and ought to lay aſide and forget the old Names, and become one Party for Liberty, before that Name is forgotten too; it is yet in our Power to ſave our ſelves. We are ſure we have a Prince, who has every Diſpoſition to help us, if we lend our own Aſſiſtance, and ſhew him the Means of doing it; and we are anſwerable to God, our Country, and our ſelves, if we do not uſe our own Endeavours. The Means are eaſy, obvious, and legal; and the Motives as ſtrong as ever did, or ever can, happen in any Circumſtance of humane Affairs. It is no leſs than the Safety and Preſervation of the beſt King, and the beſt Conſtitution upon Earth, and indeed of almoſt the only People amongſt whom there are any Remains of Liberty, Knowledge, or true Religion; all which depends upon the ſteady, loyal and uniform Proceedings of the next Parliament.

For my own Part, I have no Quarrel to Names or Perſons, and would join in any juſt Meaſures, or with any Party, to ſave the Kingdom; and will oppoſe, to the utmoſt of my Power, all who will not; and I believe there

are

are Thouſands of the ſame Sentiments; and methinks Great Men ſhould accept ſo favourable a Diſpoſition to forget the Miſchiefs which Ambition, Covetouſneſs, or Inadvertency have brought upon us. We will not look with Eagles Eyes into paſt Faults, provided a proper Atonement is made by future Services; nor envy particular Mens growing rich, if they will let the Publick thrive with them; and 'tis certainly ſafer, and more creditable, to do ſo by the Conſent of their Countrymen, than by conſtant Struggles, Broils and Contentions to overcome popular Oppoſition; which muſt get the better at laſt, or their Country, and probably they themſelves, muſt be buried in it.

England, is yet in a Condition to make the Fortunes of a few Men, if they are not in too much haſte to make them; and will conſent, or connive at their doing ſo, if they deſerve well in other Reſpects. There are many uſeleſs and yet profitable Employments in *England*, and few Men are concern'd how they are diſpos'd of, whether to Lords Valets, or whether they are the Perquiſites of foreign or domeſtick Favourites, provided the Offices which regard the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, of the State, Church or Revenue, are properly beſtowed. Thoſe who have the Fortune to get into the higheſt Stations, will expect to raiſe ſuitable Eſtates, eſpecially when they have in a great meaſure the Means in their Hands of making them, and the Power of carving for themſelves; and all but Rivals will compound for their doing it by ſuch Ways as are conſiſtent with the publick Benefit, or ſuch as the Publick does

does not ſuffer much by; and I doubt the legal Advantages belonging to few Offices in *England*, will anſwer the Expectations of Men in the firſt Station.

It is often urged, That Princes muſt be ſerved upon their own Terms, and their Servants muſt ſometimes comply againſt their Inclinations, to prevent greater Miſchiefs; which I believe is rarely the Caſe. I confeſs, Princes ought and muſt be always treated with Tenderneſs and Delicacy, and Regard muſt be had to their Opinions or Prejudices; but it is ſo much their Intereſt to be honour'd and belov'd by their People, (who from a thouſand Motives will be always ready to make them perſonally eaſy, and to gratify even their wanton Deſires, when they are not abſolutely deſtructive to themſelves) that there is much leſs Addreſs and Management neceſſary to ſhew them their real Intereſt and bring them into it, than to engage them in Deſigns which will ever produce Diſaffection and Danger; and 'tis certainly the Intereſt of their Miniſters and Servants, rather to ſet themſelves at the Head of publick Benevolences, and receive the Thanks and Applauſe due to ſuch Benefits, than to have them extorted from them always with general Curſes and Deteſtation, and often with perſonal Hazard.

I am, &c.

SIR,

SIR,

I Have, in my laſt Letter, ſaid, that no wiſe Man will remove ancient Land-Marks; and for the imaginary Proſpect of enjoying ſomething he does not enjoy, and has a Mind to enjoy, run the Hazard of loſing what he is already in Poſſeſſion of. Thoſe who have nothing to loſe, can loſe nothing by theſe Feats of Knight-Errantry; but thoſe that have, are ſeldom Gainers by them. I conſidered this Subject in that Paper, as it regarded the State; and I ſhall do it here with relation to our Church Differences. The Conſtitution of our Church is excellently well adapted to our Civil Government. The Biſhops anſwer to the Lords, and the inferior Clergy to the Commons in the State, and all are ſubject to the legiſlative Power mediately, and immediatedly to the Crown. The King has the Power of creating the chief Eccleſiaſtical Officers, as he has of creating the Civil; and they both receive their Beings and Exiſtence from him; and conſequently they muſt ever be in the Intereſt of Monarchy, and the Monarch muſt ever be in the Intereſt of an Eſtabliſhment, from which he derives ſo much Power. The Nobility and Gentry too, whoſe Birth, Character and Fortunes always give them the Means of eaſy Acceſs to the Throne, muſt be equally in the ſame Intereſt; for as no Man can ſuffer by another's enjoying Poſſeſ-

Poſſeſſions which he has no Right or Pretence to, ſo they will ſhare largely in theſe Poſſeſſions, by having more frequent and better Opportunities than their Fellow-Subjects, of preferring their Children, Relations, Friends, and Dependents; not to mention what Preſentations they have in their own Power. Indeed, every Man, of any Condition, has an Intereſt in them, as he has a Chance of ſharing Preferments himſelf, or getting them for his Family; and therefore it is wild to fear that any Intereſt in *England* can ſhake an Eſtabliſhment which ſo many Intereſts muſt concur to ſupport, unleſs thoſe who are in Poſſeſſion of its Advantages ſhould, by endeavouring to take away from others their Rights, force them to make Reprizals, and to do what, I dare ſay, no Man in *England* now intends, and but few deſire.

I have wondered, therefore, to hear ſome Men of good Underſtanding and unqueſtionable Integrity, apprehend any Danger to the legal Conſtitution of the Church, and cannot gueſs from what Quarter they can fear it. The *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Quakers*, are no Candidates for Eccleſiaſtical Power, but are by Principle againſt all Church Eſtabliſhments amongſt themſelves. The *Quakers* have no Clergy at all; and the Two former allow their Miniſters no Superiority above the reſt of their Congregations; and 'tis certain, all of them have much more favourable Opinions of the National Clergy, than of the *Presbyterians*, (the only Rivals for Church-Power) from whom they apprehend, and have always found, much worſe

worſe Uſage than from the Church. They deſire nothing but Liberty of Conſcience, and do not envy others Preferments, which they cannot enjoy themſelves. 'Tis true, the *Presbyterians* are Candidates for Church-Dominion; and without doubt their Prieſts have Hawk's Eyes at the Church Preferments, and wiſh often for them, if Wiſhes would get them; but what Facility, or, indeed, Poſſibility have they of obtaining them? They are an inconſiderable Body as to their Number; and as to their Figure, leſs; and as they grow rich and leave Eſtates behind them, their Sons (for the moſt part) deſert their Congregations and Intereſt: Beſides, they are divided now into Two Parties, *viz.* the *Subſcribers*, and *Nonſubſcribers*; the latter of which, much the moſt conſiderable for Fortune and Underſtanding, are come, for the moſt part into the Principles of general Liberty and Independency, nor will ever truſt their Clergy with the Power they pretend to, and which they claim from Scripture; and by Degrees, many of theſe, in all probability will come into the Church.

No Prince can ever be in the Intereſt of *Presbytery*; and I believe there never was one in the World, who was a true *Presbyterian*; for as that Government is purely *Democratical*, ſo it is calculated only for a popular State; and in Fact, ſubſiſts no where elſe in the World, unleſs in *Scotland*, where there have been frequent Struggles between the Crown and them. King *James* the Firſt was ſo plagu'd with them, that he was viſibly partial to the *Papiſts* againſt them: *Charles* the Firſt, by Violence,

olence, deſtroy'd their Eſtabliſhment; and King *Charles* the Second, though called in by them, and ſupported by them againſt his Parliament, yet immediately turn'd upon them: For though they would have been glad to have had a King modelled to ſerve their Purpoſes, yet that King had more Wit than to have them. For the ſame Reaſons, the Nobility and Gentry, of few Countries, who by their Births, Fortunes, and near Acceſs to the Throne, claim and enjoy a Diſtinction above the Inferior Rank of Mankind, can never be heartily in the Intereſt of that Sort of Government; and 'tis certain, that many of the Nobility and Gentry in *Scotland*, have never been favourable to it. And this is true, and perhaps the chief Reaſon why ſo many of them now are *Jacobites*.

The *Presbyterian* Clergy claim a Right from Scripture, to be independent of the Civil Power in all Things which relate to Spirituals, of which they pretend to be Judges; and in Fact, their Synods in *Scotland*, whatever they do now, formerly did not allow the Crown Power to adjourn or diſſolve them, though they were forced to ſubmit to it; and I am told at preſent, they always adjourn by their own Authority, though they take eſpecial Care it ſhall be to the ſame Time the Crown appoints; which ſtill keeps up their Claim againſt a proper Occaſion. I do not avouch the Truth of this, and hope it is not true. Now 'tis certain, the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, who have actually the Power of governing their Clergy, will never be govern'd by them, whatever Viſions

ſions weak Men of any Denomination may flatter themſelves with, nor will ever ſubmit to the *Presbyterian* Diſcipline, and to let Monks and Cynicks govern their Families, turn the Heads of their Wives, Children, and Servants, and controul their own Actions. Nor will the other Sectaries, as has been ſaid, who are already poſſeſſed of a free Liberty of Conſcience, endeavour to put Power in the Hands of thoſe who will be ſure to take it away, as they did in *New England*, though they went there to get it for themſelves. So that the Danger of ſettling *Presbytery* in *England*, is a mere Chimera; and when by the Chance of a long Civil War, they were actually got in Poſſeſſion of a Power, which during the Continuance of it they diſclaimed, they could not hold it even for a few Years.

The only Ball of Contention which ſeems to be now amongſt Churchmen, is the Sacramental Teſt, which excludes Diſſenters from Offices; which they think they have a Right to in common with their Fellow-Subjects, having done nothing to forfeit it; but this ſeems to me, to be a Diſpute only *de lana Caprina*: For 'tis certain, that not one Diſſenter in *England* would be in any Office of Value, if that Law was repealed, more than there are now; for they always qualify themſelves, if they can get good Places, and take Advantage of the Law to keep themſelves out of chargeable ones; ſo that the Churchmen alone ſuffer by that Statute. The King, by Act of Parliament, as well as Intereſt and Education, will be of the Eſtabliſhed Church; and the Nobility

bility are all, or almoſt all, ſo too, and no Doubt but they will give the Preference in all Preferments to thoſe of their own Opinions; nor can it ever happen but that Men, who can have Qualifications to fill any conſiderable Employments, will have Wit enough to find out that there is no religious Difference between the Church and *Presbyterian* Eſtabliſhments, except in the Intereſts of their Clergy, which no wiſe Man will think conſiderable enough to differ about, and to ſeparate upon that Score from the National Diſcipline, very few excepted, who will find their Account in ſettling themſelves at the Head of a Faction, and ſelling it. So that this Queſtion appears to me, only to be a Party Punctо, and ſcarce worth asking on the one Side, or denying on the other. Thoſe amongſt the *Whigs*, who moſt deſire it, would not have the Appearance of Perſecution ſtand in a Law, when in Effect there is no real Perſecution; and 'tis certainly the Intereſt of the Clergy to gratify and oblige their diſſenting Brethren in what coſts them nothing; for one Act of Kindneſs will make more Converts in a Year, than they can make by Preaching at them in Twenty; however, till they ſee the Advantage in doing it themſelves, I think no prudent Man will give them any Cauſe of Jealouſy, by doing it againſt their Conſent.

This being, as I conceive, the true State of our Church-Differences, I ſhall conclude this Letter, by Application to our National Clergy. 'Tis not to be wondered at, that ſo many of their Predeceſſors regretted the Dimi-

nution which they ſuffered of their former Revenues and Grandeur at the *Reformation*; and that they often look'd back with wiſhing Eyes, and could not eaſily loſe Sight of ſo agreeable a Proſpect, without weighing enough the Impoſſibility of recovering the Power they loſt from the Crown, and their Lands from the Nobility and Gentry, who had got Poſſeſſion of them: Indeed it would have been a Wonder if they had done otherwiſe. But now almoſt Two Hundred Years Experience may convince them of the Impoſſibility of ſucceeding in ſuch a Deſign. They have once loſt All, by endeavouring to recover a Part; and lately had like to have loſt their Poſſeſſions and Religion too, by attempting to give the Crown a Power, which they intended ſhould be employed for their own Benefit, but was actually uſed againſt them; and I hope they are now pretty generally of Opinion, that 'tis their Intereſt to ſtand to their preſent Eſtabliſhment, and be contented with the ſame Security for their own Poſſeſſions, as the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects have, and to join with them in the Defence of Liberty, and the Laws of the Land.

I ſee with a great deal of Pleaſure, many of them falling into theſe Opinions, and hope it will ſoon be the Opinion of the greateſt Part of them; and then I dare boldly affirm, that all religious Diſtinctions will ſoon be at an End, which are now kept up more by Party Animoſities, than any eſſential Difference of Opinion; for Men will always fly from the Sentiments of thoſe whoſe Perſons they hate, and

and whoſe Oppreſſion they fear; and ſuch as are little concerned about Metaphyſical, and as they think uſeleſs Notions in Divinity, will ſupport any Party againſt thoſe who would oppreſs all; and therefore the moſt laudable, and indeed only Way of the Clergy's being ſafe themſelves, is to make other People ſafe, and then they will have the good Wiſhes, the Reſpect, and Protection of every honeſt Man in *England*; and Multitudes of the Diſſenters, who will not be frighted or bullied out of their Opinions, will inſenſibly quit them of their own Accord, if it be only to ſave the Charge of paying ſeparate Miniſters, and to be in the Faſhion, when they can once give themſelves Leave to conſider coolly, that they differ about nothing, or nothing that is eſſential to Religion, or their own Intereſts. The Heat of the Sun made the Traveller immediately quit his Cloak, when the Bluſtering of the North Wind made him wrap it cloſer about him.

I am, &c.

SIR,

IT gives equal Occaſion of Mirth and Concern to wiſe Men, to ſee ſo many of the other ſort, Perſons of ſeeming Reverence, and with grave Faces, exerting themſelves with Warmth and Zeal for Opinions and Parties, with each a ſeparate Train or Chorus of leſſer

and ſubordinate Planets attending their Motions, and dancing after them. Whoever views theſe ſolemn Spectres at a Diſtance, will ſee nothing but Conſcience, Contempt of worldly Honours and Preferments, and Minds ſuperior to all Temptations; whereas all this Grimace to a nice Obſerver, will appear only to be a Project for picking Pockets, and getting away other Peoples Money; which, in reality, at preſent makes, and ever did make, moſt of the Squabbles which at any Time have diſturbed the World. This I may poſſibly hereafter ſhew to be true, in moſt of the conſpicuous Inſtances of publick and private Life; but at preſent I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe Gentlemen who deal in *Revolutions*.

There are a conſiderable Number of Politicians in all Governments, who are always Enemies to the preſent Eſtabliſhment; not becauſe it is an ill one, or becauſe thoſe who adminiſter it betray their Truſt, (which is a juſt and reaſonable Ground of Complaint) but becauſe they themſelves are not in it: If they are ſo, all is well; but if they cannot be accepted upon their own Terms, or are afterwards turn'd out for Misbehaviour, then upon a ſudden there is no Faith in Man, Fundamentals are ſtruck at, no honeſt Man can ſerve, and keep his Integrity, and there is no Remedy but a total Change; and if that happens, and they can get into Power, nothing is mended but their own Faces and their Fortunes. Without doubt, every Man has a Right to Liberty, and to come at it by all Ways which do not bring a greater Inconvenience with it than the Benefit

fit propoſed does promiſe Advantage, and all juſt Attempts of that kind are commendable; but I ſpeak now of a ſort of Cattle, who think of nothing but their Fodder, who don't care who feeds them, or who is their Maſter, provided they have a Belly-full, nor whether it is lawful Paſture, or Encroachment upon the neighbouring Soil.

I am ſo unfortunate as always to think, that a Man who is a Knave in his private Dealings, will never be a Saint in Politicks; and whoever does not do reaſonable and juſt Things in Reſpect to his Neighbours, Relations, and Acquaintance, which he does know, will have little real Concern for the Titles of Princes, whom he does not know. Indeed it ſeems to me, that there cannot be a greater Ridicule in Nature, than for any Man to pretend to be concerned for the perſonal Intereſt of another, whom he is not acquainted with, has no Means of being acquainted with, and probably would not be acquainted with upon equal Terms, unleſs he can hope to find a farther Account in it, in going Snacks with him.

It is certain, that every Man's Intereſt is involved in the Security and Happineſs of a good Prince, from whom he receives Protection and Liberty; but for one who has no Concern for publick or private Juſtice, who does not care what becomes of his Neighbour's Rights and Poſſeſſions, would make no Difficulty of cheating any Prince he ſerved, or oppreſing thoſe in his Power; I ſay, for ſuch a one to ſet up for Loyalty, and the Right Line, and to hazard his Life and Family for Con-

ſciecce Sake, is ſuch a Farce, that if Mens Thoughts were not ſo wholly taken up with their own Cheating, that they minded not other People's, no one could be deceived by ſuch falſe Appearances.

I muſt beg Leave, therefore, of theſe Gentlemen to take it for granted, that all this Zeal is for themſelves, and only a Struggle for Money and Employments, and to get that by a Revolution, which they want Merit or Means to get without it; and I will here endeavour to ſhew them, that they are taking abundance of Pains, and running as much Hazard, to attain what they will never catch. But I would not be underſtood here to apply myſelf to thoſe Men who are in deſperate Circumſtances, and whoſe Condition may be bettered, and cannot be made worſe by Confuſion; nor to the poor Viſionaries and Enthuſiaſts, who are the Cats-Feet to the former, and are by Nature prepared to be the Dupes and Tools of Ambition and Deſign; but to the very few amongſt them, who are tolerably eaſy in their own Affairs, and do not want common Underſtanding; and to theſe I may ſafely ſay, that their Paſſions and Prejudices hurry them away from their real Intereſts, to purſue Shadows and Imaginations, and to make thoſe whoſe Greatneſs they envy, yet much greater.

A Prince long kept out of what he calls his Dominions, will, upon a Reſtoration, always bring back with him a Junćto of upſtart Mamamouchi, with a huge Train of half-ſtarv'd Beggars dangling after them, who through Neceſſity

Neceſſity have followed his Fortunes, flattered his Vices, and will expect to have his Ear, and the Diſpoſal of his Favours. This ragged Crew, who have been long the Outcaſts of Fortune, know, for the moſt part, nothing of Government, or the Maxims neceſſary to preſerve it, unleſs to talk about the Divine Right of their Maſter, and the Injury done to ſo good a Prince; but with Arbitrary Principles pick'd up in their Travels, Minds ſowered with Wants and Diſappointments, hungry Bellies, and ravenous and polluted Claws, finding themſelves at once, metamorphoſed from mock Miniſters and Magiſtrates to real ones, glutted with ſudden Plenty, and rioting in Profuſion, which they before enjoyed only in Imagination, will become of courſe proud, inſolent, and rapacious, and think of nothing but to redeem the Time they have loſt, to raiſe haſty Fortunes, and will endeavour to get them as they can; and conſequently will ſell their Maſter to thoſe who can or will give moſt for him, which will be ever thoſe who have got moſt by keeping him out.

The Court Language will be immediately changed: It will be ſaid, the Prince muſt ſubmit to the Neceſſity of his Affairs; that his Enemies muſt be brought into his Intereſt, who may be otherwiſe able to perplex his new Government; and beſides, having by long Experience been uſed to Employments, and the Management of the publick Revenue, muſt be continued till others are equally qualified to ſupply their Offices; that his Majeſty has a grateful Memory of the faithful Services of his

true Friends; that he will provide for them all by Degrees, as faſt as the others can be turned out, but they muſt have a little Patience, and not be too importunate; and ſo after two or three Years daily Attendance, with old Coats new furbiſhed, ſome good Words, now and then a good Dinner, and the Honour of whiſpering and joking with his Lordſhip, they will find themſelves juſt where they ſet out, only with leſs Money in their Pockets; will ſee their Enemies in Poſſeſſion of all the Employments; find out at laſt, that Courts and Courtiers are alike, become new Malecontents, and form themſelves into a Faction againſt the Government they ventured their Lives to bring about.

This was the Caſe upon the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second, when the *Round-heads* had all the Offices, having got Money enough, whilſt they were in Power, to buy them; and the poor ſtarved *Cavaliers*, who had nothing but a good Conſcience and paſt Services to plead, were laugh'd at, and could hardly get Admittance into the Anti-chamber. The Deſcendants of theſe are the modern *Whigs*, and of the other, for the moſt part, the preſent *Tories*. Nor can it happen otherwiſe in the Nature of Things; for thoſe who have no Merit to offer but their Money, will always offer enough of it; and thoſe who want it, will always take it. Beſides, ſuch as are conſcious of their own Demerit to their Prince, will uſe double Diligence to pleaſe him, and to wipe off paſt Scores; whereas thoſe who pretend they have ſacrificed All for him, will eſteem

eſteem his Favours received only as Payments of juſt Debts; and their Expectations are ſeldom to be ſatisfied, or they to be perſuaded that their Services are enough conſidered. And it muſt proceed from a conſummate Ignorance in humane Nature, not to know, that almoſt all Men, and eſpecially Princes and Great Men, would rather engage new Debtors to themſelves, than pay off old Debts to other People; would ſooner create freſh Dependents, by conferring Favours which will be eſteemed Obligations, than ſatisfy the Clamours and Importunities of ſuch pretended Creditors and Duns, who will never be ſatisfied.

Beſides, Princes, for the moſt Part, think all that can be done for them, is no more than Duty; and will throw off old Servants, who can do them no more good, as eaſily as old Shoes; grow weary of their long-winded Tales about paſt Services, and will think themſelves at Liberty to purſue their preſent Intereſts, and employ ſuch who are moſt capable of ſerving them for the preſent, as thoſe undoubtedly are who have eſtabliſhed Intereſts, moſt Experience in Affairs, and Money always at hand to back their Pretenſions.

Beſides, when Matters in any Country are prepared for a Revolution, the poor ſtarved Followers, or diſcontented Well-wiſhers to an abdicated Prince, will never have the Merit and Honour of making it, and can never, or very rarely, have Power enough to do ſo; for thoſe who enjoy the Advantages of the Government in Poſſeſſion, who are deep in its Councils, command its Fleets and Armies, and per-

haps have made it odious by their wicked Councils and Actions, are always the firſt to veer about, and make their Intereſt with the new Government, by being inſtrumental to bring it in: They have it often in their Power to do it, and great Sums of Money always at command to buy their Peace, and very frequently to keep their Employments, and ſo to go on where they left off; for a poor wandering Prince, eager to get a Crown (which he will conceit to be his own) will fall into any Meaſures, or join with any Perſons, to obtain it; and for the moſt part be ready to drop his neceſſitous Followers, as eaſily as they would drop him, if they found it equally their Intereſt.

Of this Sort we have pregnant Inſtances in the Triumviri of *Rome*, of General *Monk*, and others formerly amongſt our ſelves, and of a very great Lord in the latter End of King *James*'s Time; but why ſhould I name particular Inſtances, when every Revolution, which almoſt ever happened in the World, furniſhes us with numerous ones, and will ever do ſo to the End of the World; unleſs the Power by which the Revolution is made, is ſo great, and ſo much in the Prince's Diſpoſal, that he is under no Neceſſity of keeping Meaſures with any Perſon or Party, but is wholly at Liberty to follow his Inclinations, and gratify his Revenge and Paſſions; or is ſo intirely an Inſtrument of the Power he makes uſe of, or rather which makes uſe of him, that he muſt do whatever they would have him do, as was the Caſe in a good meaſure of *Marius* and *Sylla*, but I think cannot be the Circumſtance of any Perſon

Perſon now living; and I hope few of thoſe, who wiſh for a Revolution, would accept it upon thoſe Terms.

The ſtarved Crew, who deal in Revolutions, are ſeldom Conjurers in Politicks; for no Man of Fortune, or a Grain of Underſtanding, would venture a ſingle Hair of his Head for the Intereſt of another, educated in Pride and Ingratitude, and very probably one too of whom he knows nothing, and who knows nothing of him, nor will have the leaſt Regard to his Hazards and Services; and then is not ſuch an one a worthy Hero, and his particular Intereſt a worthy Cauſe for a Man of common Senſe, and tolerable Fortune, to venture his Life and Eſtate for, by involving his Country too in a Civil War?

But there is another Reaſon ſtill behind, which I fear theſe doughty Politicians never think of; namely, that they are doing the Work they pretend to oppoſe; which has ſometimes inclined me to believe, that they have been employed and hired to act as they do. It is certain, that their ill digeſted Libels, without the leaſt Notions of the Principles of Government, or ſhewing the leaſt Diſpoſition to mend it; their ſtupid Cant of a Right in Princes independent of the Happineſs of the Society; their ill-mannered Reflections upon the Perſon of the Sovereign, whom moſt of them have ſworn to, and their conſtant Invectives and Reproaches upon all Men, who are honeſter and wiſer than themſelves, do more Miſchief to this Country, than their uni-

ted

ted Force, Counſels and Underſtandings could do Good, if they were inclinable to do it.

Weak Men, who know or ſuſpect their Deſigns, will take no Meaſures with them for a common Good; and thoſe who laugh at their Follies, and are not afraid of being over-reached and outwitted by them, are ever reproached with their ſilly Deſigns. In fine, they are the only Support of thoſe they pretend moſt to abhor; and I believe I may venture to ſay, are the only Friends in the Kingdom which ſome Perſons of Figure lately had, without intending to be ſo.

In my next Letter, I will endeavour to ſhew, that it is impoſſible to bring their wild Projects to bear, not with any Hopes of making many of them wiſer; but to convince better People, that they ought not to be bullied by the Sound of *Jacobitiſm*, and ſo diverted from concurring in the neceſſary Meaſures to ſerve their King, their Country, and themſelves, by Bugbears and Phantoms; for I dare venture to aſſert, that there is no Poſſibility of reſtoring the Pretender to *England*, but by taking ſuch Meaſures to keep him out, as will be more terrible to the People than letting him in, if ſuch can poſſibly be; and I am ſure every honeſt Man ought to do all in his Power, to prevent any Attempts of that Kind, which we are certain will receive no Countenance from his Majeſty, and, I hope, from none of his preſent Miniſtry.

I am, &c.

SIR,

SIR,

I Have promiſed in my laſt, to ſhew, that the Pretender's Game is altogether deſperate in *England*, unleſs thoſe, whoſe Duty and Intereſt in the higheſt manner oblige them to keep him out, pave the Way for his Return: And this I ſhall do, by ſhewing, that there is no Intereſt within the Kingdom, or out of it, capable of bringing about ſuch a Revolution, and willing to do it. Indeed, ſuch a Convulſion would ſhake the very Foundations of the Earth, and turn all Nature topſy-turvy. God knows, one *Revolution* is enough for one Age. I do not deny, but ſuch an Event might have been brought about, if favoured by the Crown, by the Miniſters and Officers in Power under it, and abetted by a great neighbouring Potentate, which many People (I hope falſly) think was our Caſe in a late Reign; and even then the Succeſs would not have been certain; and if it had ſucceeded, I dare venture to be poſitive, that thoſe who had been moſt forward to have brought him in, would have been amongſt the firſt to have turned him out again.

I think no Man is now to learn, that Conſcience, and the Opinion of Right, have little or nothing to do in Revolutions, but the Reſentments of Men, and the gratifying the Views and Expectations of private Perſons, or aggregate Bodies; and no formidable Sett of Men could

could have found their Account amongſt us, in continuing him upon the Throne, upon the Terms he muſt have ſat there. He is certainly a very weak Man, a great Bigot, and of a ſaturnine and moroſe Temper; and the near Proſpect of the Poſſeſſion of Three Crowns could not make him temporize with his then Intereſt, nor diſguiſe his Religion to thoſe who were contented to be deceived, that they might deceive others: and therefore it is impoſſible to believe, that a Prince ſo qualified, provoked by his Expulſion, acquainted perſonally with few or none amongſt us, and educated in the Religion and Maxims of *France* and *Rome*, reſtored by their Means, and ſupported by them, would act afterwards upon other Maxims than what he had before imbibed, and would be conſtantly inculcated into him by his foreign Tutors abroad, and his Prieſts at home.

Such Conduct would quickly have made thoſe, who moſt eſpouſed his Intereſt at firſt, ſoon turn upon him, as they did before upon his Father; and ſo many Intereſts in *Europe* were concerned to ſeparate *England* from a Dependence upon *France*, that they would never have wanted a ſtrenuous Aſſiſtance, as his Father found to his Coſt, when all the Popiſh Princes, except *France*, preferred the Intereſts of their States before the Intereſts of their Religion, as *France* it ſelf would have done upon the like Motives. I hope I ſhall be forgiven by the Gentlemen of this Caſt of Loyalty, if I ſay, that they have ſufficiently ſhewn to the World, that they will eſpouſe the Intereſts of no Prince any longer than he ſerves theirs; and

I conceive it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe a Circumſtance that Prince could be in, to anſwer both their Views, conſidering his Prejudices and Dependences.

But whatever might have been practicable then, the Caſe is far otherwiſe now: We have a King upon the Throne, who will not be ſung out of his Dominions as the late King *James* was: He will have ſome Troops at home, who will certainly ſtand by him: He has great Dominions of his own abroad, and is ſure of the Support of powerful Neighbours: His Strength, and that of his Allies, at Sea is ſo great, that no Invaſion can be made upon him, but by Stealth; and that muſt be always a very inconſiderable one, and cannot be ſupported but by Accidents. Very many, and I hope by far the greateſt part of the Nobility, Gentry, and People are devoted to his Perſon and Title, and would be glad to ſerve him upon the Bottom of Liberty and his true Intereſt: The dignified Clergy ſhew their Loyalty in the manner which is moſt acceptable to him, and every Month adds to their Number by new Creations; and we may reaſonably hope, that the reſt will not be long left behind.

All who are concerned in the publick Funds, which contain a fourth or fifth Part of the Wealth of the Kingdom, muſt ſupport an Eſtabliſhment which ſupports them, and which if loſt, they are undone and loſt with it; and every Man who has Property, or the Means of acquiring Property, and has any common Underſtanding, and a Love for himſelf and Liberty, muſt know that ſo many Intereſts, and ſo ſup-

ſupported, cannot be ſhaken but by a long Civil War, and by making *England* the Stage and Field for all the Nations in *Europe* to fight out their Quarrels in; and that ſuch a War muſt end in making us the Prize of the Victor, and ſubject us either to a foreign Power or a domeſtick Tyrant, if we have not the Happineſs to be reſtored to our preſent Eſtabliſhment again; and then we ſhall have had a Civil War for nothing.

If we did not ſee by daily Experience, that there is not an Opinion in Philoſophy, Religion, or Politicks, ſo abſurd, but it finds out Heads wrong enough turn'd to embrace it; I ſhould not think it poſſible, that any Perſon, who is not a profeſſed or concealed Papiſt, could wiſh for ſuch a Revolution, or any one elſe fear it, and much leſs that they ſhould fear it from abroad.

It is certain, the Emperor has ſo many perſonal as well as political Ties and Motives to engage him in the King's Intereſts, ariſing from Obligations received, from more expected, and as it is ſaid contracted for in regard to his *Italian* Dominions, from their mutual Dependences upon one another in *Germany*, and above all, from the Intereſts of their ſeveral Dominions, that it is politically impoſſible but that he muſt do all in his Power to ſupport him in his Throne; for when two Nations are ſo ſituated, that they have nothing to fear from one another, and have a common Intereſt to watch and oppoſe a third Power formidable to both, they muſt be natural Allies without the Help of Treaties; and whatever little occaſional or perſonal

perſonal Differences may happen between the Princes who govern them, yet whilſt the Intereſt of their Dominions are friendly, they will never long continue Enemies, and though they do ſo, yet will always help one another upon any Emergency.

I think I may ſafely ſay, that the King has much to hope, and nothing to fear, from the Leſſer Princes of *Germany*, in reſpect to his *Engliſh* Dominions; for many of them can, and will help him, and none of them can do him any harm.

The Safety and Preſervation of *Holland* is ſo entirely dependent, and wrapt up in our preſent Eſtabliſhment, that they muſt venture all to defend it. We are oblig'd by Intereſt, as well as Treaties, to ſupport them againſt every Power that is capable much to offend them; and their Intereſt is to keep us in a Situation and Condition to do ſo; and tho' without doubt they emulate and fear the great Naval Power of *England*, and our Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*, and would pleaſe themſelves, and laugh in their Sleeves to ſee us encreaſe our Burthens, and enervate our State by airy and romantick Expeditions to do their Buſineſs, whilſt they lie ſtill, eaſe their Subjects, and pay off their Debts, yet they will never ſuffer *England* to fall under the Dependence of *France*, *Spain*, or *Rome*, tho' they very well know how to make mercantile Advantages of the Weakneſs of thoſe they have to do with.

The Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* can never have a joint Intereſt to inſult us, and at preſent neither of them have ſo; for it is ſaid we

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are engaged by Alliances, to ſupport them againſt one another, and every one elſe who has Power enough much to annoy them; nor can they be ſure that ever *England* again will find its Glory and Advantage in the Heroick Gallantry of engaging in the Squabbles of the North, when *France* and *Holland* (vaſtly more concern'd in the Event) find theirs in lying ſtill, and letting them agree as they fall out.

The *Czar* can have no Motives from the Intereſts of his Dominions, to quarrel with a People from whom his Subjects enjoy an advantageous Trade, and with a Power too which he can't hurt, and which can hurt him: We are no Rivals for adjacent Territories, and he can't rival us in Maritime Power and Trade; and both of us can find our Account in Friendſhip, and neither in Enmity. His Encroachments in the *Baltick* have hitherto done us no Miſchief, but on the contrary has open'd a new Market for Naval Stores, and render'd our Supplies from *Sweden* and *Denmark* leſs precarious: Indeed his conquering either of thoſe Crowns would be very miſchievous, but much more ſo to other Nations than to us, who may be eaſily ſupply'd with Naval Stores from our own Plantations; and therefore if his neighbouring or diſtant trading Nations apprehend ſuch an Event, they will certainly join together to oppoſe it, and implore our Aſſiſtance upon our own Terms, tho' undoubtedly they will be much better pleas'd, if we do it for them without asking theirs.

Therefore

Therefore if any Subjects of ours have given him juſt Cauſe of Offence, and made him a perſonal Enemy to our Country, we ought to deliver them up, or puniſh them at home; and if any Nation in Alliance with us, and in Enmity with him, can find their Intereſt in quarrelling with him, let them quarrel by themſelves, and make up their Squabbles as they can, or get the Aſſiſtance of thoſe who have Political Motives to oppoſe his Progreſs, and put a ſtop to his growing Power: I doubt we ſhall have enough to do to defend ourſelves; and therefore I hope we ſhall not undo our ſelves yet farther to conquer for others, and in Inſtances too which in Times to come may prove fatal to our ſelves.

The States of *Italy* are Intereſted to preſerve the Naval Power and Greatneſs of *England*, if we purſue the Meaſures which are moſt advantageous to our ſelves, namely, to meddle no farther with their Affairs, than to carry on an advantageous Trade with them, and by friendly Offices, proper Negotiations, and perhaps ſometimes by the Shew of Force, to protect them againſt the greater Powers which threaten them. It is certainly their Intereſt, that we ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, if we make a right and honeſt Uſe of them; for we have nothing to deſire from them, but what 'tis their Intereſt to give, nor they to fear from us, whilſt we act as *Engliſhmen*; but if we ſhould ever ſacrifice our own Intereſts to ſuch as are not our own, we muſt thank ourſelves if we make Enemies of thoſe who would be glad to be our Friends.

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It is certainly the Intereſt of the Kingdom of *France* to have an impotent Adminiſtration, and a diſtracted State of Affairs in *England*, and a Prince at the Head of them, that either from Weakneſs cannot, or from other Motives and Dependences will not obſtruct the Union of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to their own, which would ſoon give them the Poſſeſſion of it effectually as if they had conquer'd it; but the Intereſt of the Regent, who governs *France*, is far otherwiſe: The appearing Proſpect, and probable Chance of that Crown's deſcending to him, or his Poſterity, will engage him to ſupport a Power which can alone ſupport him, and which has every Motive to do ſo: In ſuch a Circumſtance of Affairs, no Intereſt in *France*, except his immediate Dependents, can abet his Perſonal Pretenſions againſt the Intereſts of all *France*, and therefore he muſt depend upon foreign Alliances; and *England* alone can be ſafely rely'd upon, who have no Claim to any Part of his Dominions, or Intereſt and Deſire to ſeize them; which cannot be ſaid of the Emperor, or any other Potentate, who has Power and Motives enough to aſſiſt him.

I have wonder'd therefore at the Weakneſs of many among our ſelves, who can be ſo often elated or terrified with the Deſigns of the Regent, who can never conſpire againſt us, without conſpiring againſt himſelf; and no Provocation even on our Part could make him undermine and betray, in ſo tender an Inſtance, his own Intereſt. I doubt not but he wiſhes *Gibraltar* out of our Hands; and if Negotiations or big Words can prevail upon us to part with it,

it, I preſume they are eaſily to be obtain'd, but he will never join with *Spain* to force it: this Danger therefore is a meer Bugbear, made uſe of to delude the *Jacobites*, and intimidate honeſter Men, and by making the firſt plot, or prate and bounce, to govern the others.

So that the Pope excepted, who can do us no harm by his own Force, the King of *Spain* alone is the Power in *Europe* that can be concern'd to favour the Pretender's Intereſt; nor could he find his Account in it, unleſs to open his Way to the Crown of *France*, in Caſe of the young King's Death.

The Divine Right of Monarchy in the Right Line is ſo well eſtabliſh'd in Arbitrary Countries, that I dare ſay that Prince would be ſorry to depend upon a forced Renunciation and the Power of *Spain*, to defend himſelf againſt his Nephew, if other Powers were not at hand to aſſiſt him; and no Power in *Europe* can do it effectually but *England*; and whilſt there is a King at the Head of it, who will purſue his own and his Peoples true Intereſt in protecting him, and preſerving the Friendſhip which for more than an Age has been propitious to both Kingdoms, and has the Means by the Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, of reſenting any Injury done on his Part; it is wild to think that at great Hazard and Expence he would attempt to bring about a Revolution which may engage us in a long Civil War, and diſenable us to give him the Protection he can receive no where elſe.

Therefore, if he is favourable to the Pretender's Intereſt, it muſt be owing to perſonal Reſentments,

Reſentments, or his Views towards the Crown of *France*. I hope we ſhall give him no more Cauſe for the firſt and as to the latter, he has the Intereſts of the Regent, of all *Germany*, *Italy*, the States of *Holland*, and indeed of all *Europe* againſt him, as well as the united Intereſt of his own Subjects, who will not be contented to be a Province to *France*; and I may venture to aſſert, that whilſt we keep the Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*, and make a proper Uſe of it, he can neither effect the one nor the other; namely he can never make himſelf King of *France*, nor the Pretender King of *England*.

I am, *&c.*

SIR,

THE Subjects which Men underſtand leaſt, are generally what they talk of moſt, and none ſo much as of Government, which almoſt every Man thinks he has Talents to direct, and like *Sancha Pancha*, believes he can make a very good Viceroy: He thinks nothing is neceſſary, but to get at the Helm, where his Buſineſs is to Command, and that of others to Obey; and then, as the aforeſaid *Sancha* (Viceroy-like) ſays, Who but I? But to govern a State well, is the moſt difficult Science in the World; and few Men, who have ever been in the Poſſeſſion of Power, have known what to do with it, or ever underſtood

derſtood the Principles upon which all Power is founded: and their Miſtakes have made endleſs Havock amongſt Mankind.

Government is Political, as a humane Body is Natural Mechaniſm; both have proper Springs, Wheels, and a peculiar Organization to qualify them for ſuitable Motions, and can have no other than that Organization enables them to perform; and when thoſe Springs or Principles are deſtroyed by Accident or Violence, or are worn out by Time, they muſt ſuffer a natural or political Demiſe, and be buried, or elſe ſmell above Ground; and though neither of them ought to be murdered, yet when they are dead, they ought to be interred.

Now it is moſt certain, that the firſt Principle of all Power is Property; and every Man will have his Share of it in Proportion as he enjoys Property, and makes uſe of that Property, where Violence does not interpoſe. Men will ever govern or influence thoſe whom they employ, feed, and clothe, and who cannot get the ſame neceſſary Means of Subſiſtence upon as advantageous Terms elſewhere. This is natural Power, and will govern and conſtitute the political, and will certainly draw the latter after it, if Force is abſent; and Force cannot ſubſiſt long without altering Property; ſo that both muſt unite together, firſt or laſt, and Property will either get the Power, or Power will ſeize the Property in its own Defence; for it is fooliſh to think, that Men of Fortunes will be governed by thoſe who have none, and be plundered to make ſuch whom they deſpiſe, and have every Day new Reaſons

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to hate, rich and inſolent: And on the other hand, Men will contentedly ſubmit to be governed by thoſe who have large Poſſeſſions, and from whom they receive Protection and Support, whilſt they will always emulate their Equals. Tho' the People of *Rome* extorted a Law from the Senate, that Commoners might be admitted into the chief Offices of the State jointly with the Nobles; yet all the Addreſs and Power of the Tribunes could not for a long Time make them chuſe one of their own Body into thoſe Offices, till Commoners had got Eſtates equal to the Nobility; and then the Ballance of Property turning to the People, they carried all before them.

The only true deſpotick Governments now in the World, are thoſe where the whole Property is in the Prince; as in the Eaſtern Monarchies, that of *Morocco*, &c. where every Man enjoying what he has by the Bounty of his Sovereign, has no Motive or Means to contend with him, but looks upon him as his Benefactor; and ſuch as have no Property, do not think themſelves to be injured: But when Men are in Poſſeſſion of any Thing which they call their own, and think they have a Right to enjoy it, they will ever contend for it, when thay have the Means to do ſo, and will always take Advantage of every Exigence in their Prince's Affairs to attain that Right. Other Princes, who have a Mind to be as Arbitrary as the former, and wanting either the Capacity or the Power to acquire this natural Dominion, ſeize by Violence the Productions of their Subjects Eſtates and Induſtry, which

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is a conſtant State of Force on one Side, and Oppreſſion on the other; it perpetually provokes the People, and yet leaves them often the Means of revenging the Injuſtice done them, and muſt end in the former Government, or in the ſetting up ſome new Form by the Extinction of the Tyranny; whereas in the other, tho' the Monarchs are often deſtroy'd yet the Monarchy is preſerved intire, there being no Intereſt in the State capable of ſhaking it.

But both theſe Sovereignties have one Miſchief in common, and inſeparable from them, *viz.* as they ever ſubſiſt by ſtanding Armies, ſo they muſt ever be ſubject to the Caprices and Diſguſts of the Military Men, who often depoſe and murther their Sovereigns; but in the latter much oftner than in the former; for whilſt the People have the Name, and as they think a Right to Property, they will always have ſome Power, and will expect to be conſider'd by their Princes, and the Soldiers will expect to have Leave to oppreſs them, which will make continual Struggles; and the Prince finding himſelf oblig'd to take Part with one of them, often falls in the Struggle, which was the Caſe of the *Roman* Emperors, moſt of whom were ſlaughter'd either by the People, or their own Soldiers; whereas in a natural abſolute Goverment, there is no Danger, but from the latter alone; and if he can pleaſe them, all is well, and he is ſafe.

But neither of theſe ought to be called by the Name of Government, but both indeed are only Violence and Rapine, and the Subjection of many Millions of miſerable Wretches to the

wide and wanton Will of often the worſt Man among them: They deface humane Nature, and render the bountiful Gifts of indulgent Providence uſeleſs to the World; and the beſt which can be ſaid of them is, that they make the grand Tyrant and his inferior Oppreſſors as miſerable and unſafe as the poor Wretches they oppreſs; nor ſhould I have mention'd them as Governments, but to make what I have farther to ſay the better underſtood.

All other Dominions are either limited Monarchies, ſimple Ariſtocracies, Democracies, or Mixtures of them; and the Actions and Operations in thoſe Governments, or the Continuance of thoſe Governments, depend upon the Diſtribution and Alteration of the Ballance of Property; and the not obſerving the Variation and the frequent Changes of this *Primum Mobile*, cauſes all the Combuſtions we ſee and feel in States: Men who fancy themſelves in the ſame Situation, as to outward Appearance, ſtare about them, and wonder what is become of the Power their Predeceſſors enjoyed, without being able to judge how they loſt it by the floating of Property, think they have a Right to enjoy the ſame ſtill, and ſo in ſpite of Nature, uſe Fraud and Violence to attain what they cannot hold, if it was attain'd; however, they will ſtruggle for it, and this Struggle produces Contentions and Civil Wars, which moſt commonly end in the Deſtruction of one of the Parties, and ſometimes of both.

Now it ſeems to me that the great Secret in Politicks is nicely to watch and obſerve this Fluctuation and Change of Natural Power, and

and to adjuſt the Political to it by prudent Precautions and timely Remedies, and not put Nature to the Expence of Throws and Convulſions to do her own Work; I do not mean by altering the Form of the Government, which is rarely to be done without Violence and Danger, and therefore ought not to be attempted when any Thing elſe can be done, but by gentle and inſenſible Methods. Suppoſe, for Example, a limited Monarchy which cannot ſubſiſt without a Nobility: If the Nobles have not Power enough to ballance the great Weight of the People, and ſupport the Crown and themſelves, it is neceſſary to take ſome of the richeſt of the Commoners into that Order; if they have more Power than is conſiſtent with their Dependence upon their Monarch, it is right to create no more, but to let thoſe already created expire and waſte by degrees till they become a proper Ballance: If the People by Trade and Induſtry grow ſo faſt, that neither the Crown nor Nobles, or both together, can keep pace with them, then there is no way left but by uſing Violence to hazard what the two latter are already in Poſſeſſion of by an unequal Conteſt; or by uſing Moderation and a beneficent Conduct, to let the former enjoy all they can hope to get by a Struggle, and voluntarily to give up all odious Powers of doing Miſchief, tho' miſcalled Prerogative, which muſt ever be a Power of doing good, when ordinary Proviſions fail, and are inſufficient.

Harry the VIIth, dreading the Strength of the Nobles, who had always plagued and ſometimes deſtroy'd his Predeceſſors, found

Means to make them alienate a great part of their Eſtates, which threw a proportionable Power into the Commons; and his Son by ſeizing the Revenues of the Eccleſiaſticks, (who uſually cabali'd with them) and diſperſing thoſe Eſtates amongſt the People, made that Ballance much heavier; which Queen *Elizabeth* wiſely obſerving, (tho' ſhe lov'd Power as well as any who went before her) yet careſſed them with ſo much Dexterity, that ſhe preſerv'd not only the Crown upon her Head, but wore it in its full Luſtre, and by encouraging Trade, and letting Nature take its Courſe, ſtill encreas'd the Peoples Wealth and Power, which her Succeſſor early ſaw and often lamented; but wanting her Moderation, Abilities and Experience, did not know how to temporiſe with an Evil which he could not help, but took a prepoſterous Way to cure it, and endeavour'd by the Aſſiſtance of the governing Clergy (who hop'd by his Means to recover what they loſt at the Reformation) to regain a Power by Pulpit-haranguing and Diſtinctions which he durſt not contend for with the Sword, and ſo his Reign was a perpetual Strugle between himſelf and his Parliaments: When they were quiet he bounc'd, and when they had thoroughly provok'd them, he drew back and gave good Words again; but by ſuch Conduct he ſowed the Seeds of that fatal and bloody Civil War which ſprang up in the Reign of his Son, and ended in the Diſſolution of the Monarchy, and ſoon after of all Liberty; for the General of the conquering Army ſet up himſelf, (as all others will ever do in the ſame Circumſtance;) but the

the Property remaining where it was, this new Tyranny was violent and againſt Nature, and could not hold long, and all Parties united againſt it, and ſo the Nation was reſtor'd to its ancient Form of Government.

King *Charles* the IId. came in with all the exteriour Advantages requiſite to enſlave a People: The Nation was become weary of the Sound of Liberty, having ſuffer'd ſo much in their Struggle for it, and loſt all they ſtruggled for: The Clergy were provok'd by the Loſs of their Dignities and Revenues; the Nobility and Gentry were univerſally diſtaſted and alienated by Sequeſtrations, and being ſo long depriv'd of the Offices and Deſtinctions they claim'd by their Birth; and the Body of the People had been harraſs'd and exhauſted by a long Civil War, and were weary of being toſs'd and tumbled once in a Month out of one Government into another; and all were prepared to accept and fall into any Meaſures which might ſatiate their Revenge upon thoſe who had oppreſs'd them, and to root out the very Principles of Liberty, the Abuſe of which had brought ſuch Miſchiefs upon them.

That Prince got a Parliament to his Mind (as all Princes will do upon a Revolution, when Parties run high, and will do any Thing to mortify their Opponents) and kept it in conſtant Penſion; but Property remaining in the People, it inſenſibly gain'd Ground, and prevail'd at laſt: The People grew univerſally diſaffected, and look'd upon the Parliament as a Cabal of perjur'd Hirelings, and no longer their Repreſentatives, and the Nation was

work'd up into ſuch a Ferment, that their Betrayers would not or durſt not ſerve the Court, nor the Court keep them any longer. That Prince had Wit enough to drive Things no farther than they would go, and knew when it was Time to give back; but his Brother, with leſs Underſtanding and a much worſe Religion than his Predeceſſor openly profeſs'd, hop'd to accompliſh what he had attempted, or deſpair'd of bringing about; and how he ſucceeded we all know. I gladly throw a Veil over what has happen'd ſince, and hope I ſhall hereafter have no Reaſon to repent it.

I ſhall only obſerve before I conclude this Letter, that there is no need of the caballing of different Intereſts, the uniting joint Councils, and concerting regular Meaſures, to bring about ſome of the greateſt Events in humane Affairs; and conſequently in great publick Exigencies, Oppreſſors will find no Security in the appearing Oppoſition of Parties, who like a Pair of Sheers will cut only what is between them when they ſeem moſt to threaten one another. When Nature has prepared the Way, all Things will tend to their proper Center; and tho' Men for ſome Time will dally and play with their leſſer Intereſts, yet at laſt they will mechanically fall into their great ones, and often without intending or knowing it; Men will aways feel their Strength when they can't reaſon upon it, or are afraid to do ſo. I could name a Party that for above thirty Years together have acted in the Intereſts of Liberty, and for the greateſt Part of the Time could not bear the Sound of Liberty, till at laſt great Numbers

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of them are caught by the Principles they moſt deteſted; which I intend as a ſeaſonable Caution to all thoſe who have the Honour to ſit at the Helm of States, or to adviſe Princes, who may at any Time hereafter want ſuch a *Memento.*

I ſhall, in my next Letter, endeavour to ſhew, upon the Principles here laid down, that *England* at preſent is not capable of any other Form of Government than what it enjoys, and has a Right to enjoy; and that another neighbouring State will with very great Difficulty preſerve the Conſtitution they now are in Poſſeſſion of.

I am, &c.

SIR,

TACITUS obſerved of the *Romans*, in his Time, *Quod nec totam libertatem nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt*; That they could neither bear full Liberty, or perfect Slavery. This is certainly the Caſe of *England* at preſent, if by Liberty is underſtood what I preſume he meant by it, a Republican Form of Government. But I conceive Liberty may be better preſerved by a well poiſed Monarchy, than by any popular Government I know now in the World, whatever Forms may exiſt in Imagination; but whether this be true or not, it is certainly true that no Man in his Wits will loſe the Benefit of a very good preſent Eſtabliſhment, and run infinite Hazards to try to get one a little better,

if he could have any Proſpect of attaining it: But I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, that the effecting ſuch a Project, is impoſſible; and that during the preſent Diſtribution of Property, we can preſerve Liberty by no other than what we have: and in the Attempt to alter it, muſt run great Hazard of loſing what we are in Poſſeſſion of, or perhaps falling into an abſolute Monarchy, or at beſt muſt return to the ſame again, as we have done once already by ſuch Feats of Gallantry.

It proceeds from a conſummate Ignorance in Politicks, to think that a Number of Men agreeing together, can make and hold a Commonwealth, before Nature has prepared the Way; for ſhe alone muſt do it. An Equality of Eſtate will give an Equality of Power; and an Equality of Power is a Commonwealth, or Democracy: An *Agrarian* Law, or ſomething equivalent to it, muſt make or find a ſuitable Diſpoſition of Property; and when that comes to be the Caſe, there is no hindering a popular Form of Government, unleſs ſudden Violence takes away all Liberty, and to preſerve it ſelf, alters the Diſtribution of Property again. I hope no one amongſt us has a Head ſo wrong turned, as to imagine that any Man or Number of Men, in the preſent Situation of Affairs, can ever get Power enough to turn all the Poſſeſſions of *England* topſy-turvy, and throw them in Average, eſpecially any who can have a Will and Intereſt in doing it; and without all this it is impoſſible to ſettle a Commonwealth here; and I dare ſay, few deſire it, but ſuch as having no Eſtates of their own, or Means and Merit

to

to acquire them, would be glad to ſhare in other People's.

Now 'tis certain, that the Diſtribution of Property in *England*, is adapted to our preſent Eſtabliſhment. The Nobility and Gentry have great Poſſeſſions, and the former have great Privileges and Diſtinctions by the Conſtitution, and the latter have them in Fact, tho' poſitive Laws give but few of them, for their Birth and Fortunes procure them eaſy Admittance into the Legiſlature; and their near Approach to the Throne gives them Pretences to honourable and profitable Employments, which create a Dependence from the inferior Part of Mankind; and the Nature of many of their Eſtates, and particularly of their Mannors, add to that Dependence. Now all theſe muſt ever be in the Intereſt of Monarchy, whilſt they are in their own; for Monarchy ſupports and keeps up this Diſtinction, and ſubſiſts by it; for it is ſenſeleſs to imagine, that Men, who have great Poſſeſſions, will ever put themſelves upon the level with thoſe who have none, or with ſuch as depend upon them for Subſiſtance or Protection, whom they will always think they have a Right to govern or influence, and will be ever able to govern whilſt they keep their Poſſeſſions, and a monarchical Form of Government, and therefore will always endeavour to keep it.

All the Biſhops, Dignitaries, or governing Clergy, all who have good Preferments in the Church, or hope to get them, are in the Intereſts of Monarchy, for the Reaſons I gave in a former, and ſome others which I chuſe not

to give now: They know very well too, that a popular Government would take away all Poſſeſſions which it ſhould think fit to call ſuperfluous, would level all the reſt, and be apt to reaſon, that Chriſtianity would fare never the worſe if its Profeſſors were leſs Politicians, of which they ſee before their Eyes a pregnant and very affecting Inſtance in *Holland*. All great and excluſive Companies are in the Intereſt of Monarchy, (whatever weak People have alledged to the contrary) for they can much eaſier preſerve their ſeparate and unwarrantable Privileges by Applications to the Vices and Paſſions of a Court, than by convincing a popular Aſſembly; and for the ſame Reaſon, all Officers who have great Salaries and exorbitant Fees, muſt ever be ſure Friends to Monarchy. Rich Merchants, and indeed all rich Men, will be equally in the ſame Intereſt, and be willing to enjoy themſelves, and leave to their Poſterity all the Advantages and Diſtinctions which always attend large Fortunes in Monarchies.

After theſe (many of whom are Men of Virtue and Probity, and deſire only to enjoy the Rights they were born to, or have acquired) follow and bring up the Rear all the whole Poſſe of Debauchees, and riotous Livers, loud Women, Gameſters, and Sharpers; all who get by Oppreſſion and unequal Laws, or the Non execution of good ones; who are ever for Monarchy and the right Line, as expecting much fairer Quarter from the Corruptions of Courtiers, than they can ever hope to meet with in popular States, who always deſtroy

ſtroy and exterminate ſuch Vermin, of which ſort (I thank God) we have none amongſt us at preſent; but who knows how ſoon we may.

Now, without entering into the Queſtion, Which is the beſt Government in Theory, a limited Monarchy, or a democratical Form of Government? I think I may ſafely affirm, that it is impoſſible to contend againſt all theſe Intereſts, and the Crown too, which is almoſt a Match for them all together; and the Phantome of a Commonwealth muſt vaniſh, and never appear again but in diſordered Brains. If this is the true Circumſtance of *England* at preſent, as I conceive it indiſputably is, we have nothing left to do, or indeed which we can do, but to make the beſt of our own Conſtitution, which if duly adminiſtred, provides excellently well for general Liberty; and to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of Property, and to uſe our beſt Endeavours to make it anſwer the other Purpoſes of private Virtue, as far as the Nature of it is capable of producing that End.

I have purpoſely declined the ſpeaking of Ariſtocracies, becauſe there can be no imaginary Danger of eſtabliſhing ſuch a Government here; for the Nobility have neither Property nor Credit enough to ſucceed in an Act of Knight-Errantry, or Will to attempt it; and the Gentry will ever oppoſe them, unleſs their Intereſts are taken into the Project; and both together are not able to contend with the Crown and the Body of the People, the latter of which will ever be in the Intereſts of Equality.

And

And now having mentioned Ariſtocracies, I ſhall make ſome Obſervations upon a neighbouring State, which is vulgarly miſtaken for a Commonwealth, and is ſo in Nature according to the Ballance of Property there, but is politically an Union of ſeveral little Ariſtocracies, in many reſpects like ſome States of *Italy* in the firſt Time of the *Romans*, but contrived with much worſe Policy: As it was jumbled together in Confuſion, ſo it ſeems to me to ſubſiſt by Chance, or rather by the conſtant Dread of the two great ſucceſſive Powers of *Europe*, viz. that of *Spain* formerly, and *France* ſince; for the Natural Power being in the People, and the Political in the Magiſtrates, it has all the Cauſes of Diſſolution in its Contexture. Every Town is governed and ſubject to a little Ariſtocracy within it ſelf, who have no Foundation of ſuitable Property to intitle them to their Dominion; and each of thoſe is independent of its Provincial State, and indeed of the States-General, nor have any Cheque upon their own Actions, but the Tumult and Inſurrections of the People, who have the real and natural Power; and indeed, to do the Magiſtrates Right, they judge ſo well of their own Weakneſs and the Power of the People, that they ſeldom or never give them juſt Cauſe of Provocation; but by Frugality, publick Oeconomy, wiſe and timely Compliances, impartial Juſtice, and not raiſing great Eſtates to themſelves at the other's Expence, they make their Subjects eaſy, and find their own Account in their Submiſſion, whom they want Power to govern by the Force of Authority; and probably

bly will continue to make them ſo, whilſt they keep to the ſame Maxims and their preſent Conduct: But this is no ſteady and durable Dominion; nor unleſs Mankind are formed there with other Appetites and Paſſions than in all other Parts of the World, can the ſame Prudence be always obſerved, which ſeems to me to be owing only to their Neceſſities, and that Virtue, Moderation, and Frugality, which is conſpicuous in the firſt Riſe of States, and is not yet quite ſpent but cannot laſt much longer; for when they ceaſe to be kept together by the conſtant Dread of over-grown Neighbours, they will certainly think themſelves at Liberty to play their own Games at home: Thoſe who are in Poſſeſſion of Power will know what it is good for; and thoſe who have great Riches will fall into Luxury, then into Extravagance, and at laſt into Neceſſity; and others will vye with them, and follow their Example. When their Magiſtrates have impaired their Eſtates, or fancy they want greater, they will plunder the Publick; and others of equal Condition will emulate them, and begin to ask what right they have to the ſole Enjoyment of Privileges and Employments, which they think themſelves in all reſpects equally intitled to, and will not be content to be always Subjects to thoſe who are no better than they are; and the People will be impatient in continuing to pay large Taxes to ſuch who pocket them, but will endeavour to right themſelves, and have Power enough to do ſo. Theſe oppoſite Intereſts muſt raiſe Convulſions in the Body Politick, and produce all the Miſchiefs which have happened in other States

States upon the like Occaſions. Thoſe who have Power, will endeavour to keep it, and thoſe who ſuffer under it, will endeavour to take it away, and the Event will be in the Will of Heaven alone; but in all Likelihood will be ſome other Form of Government.

I take my Account of the Conſtitution of this State from others, who poſſibly may not be well informed of it, and I hope they are not ſo; for I ſhould be very ſorry to ſee the moſt virtuous and flouriſhing State which ever yet appeared in the World, periſh of an internal Diſtemper; which ever ſince its Inſtitution has been the Champion of publick Liberty, and has defended it ſelf, and in a great Meaſure its Neighbours, from the two greateſt Tyrannies which ever threatned *Europe*, and the Chriſtian Religion.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I Propoſe in this Letter to ſhew, and I hope to do it unanſwerably, that nothing can be a greater Diſſervice to his Majeſty's Intereſt, more fatal to his Miniſtry, or more deſtructive to his People, than to engage them in a new War, if there is but a bare Poſſibility of preventing it, let the Pretences be what they will. A new Fire ſeems to be now kindling in *Italy*, which in all Likelihood will blaze out far and wide; and without Doubt, many Princes will warm

warm their Hands at it, whilſt their Subjects will be burnt to Death: But I hope we ſhall have Wit enough to keep out of its Reach, and not be ſcorched with its Flames; but like ſome of our wiſer Neighbours, ſhall lie ſtill, and know how to make our Markets of the Follies and Misfortunes of others. We have been Heroes long enough, and paid the Price of our Gallantry and Credulity. We are got near ſixty Millions in Debt, and have nothing for it but *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*; and it is ſaid, that ſome of our Allies have had the Preſumption to expect theſe from us too; and I am ſure, if They ſhould be loſt, or given away, we have nothing left wherewith to compenſate any Power which we ſhall vanquiſh hereafter.

I hope no Man will be wild enough to make any Propoſition for a new War to us; nor can I gueſs at any one Argument for it, but what I hope will be called Treaſon to his Sovereign and his Country. Old threadbare Reaſons will hold no longer: People will not always deceive themſelves, nor be deceived by others. We ſhall not bear being told again, *That* England *need but ſend a Meſſage, or a Bucket full of Water, and the Fire will be extinguiſhed.* That Argument has already coſt us the Terror and Expence of providing againſt two Invaſions, or intended Invaſions; has loſt or ſpoiled ſeveral great Fleets, deſtroyed Numbers of our Merchant Ships, encreaſed our National Debts many Millions, and perhaps brought upon us that noble Project to pay them off, and created the general Want of Trade, and, I doubt,

that

that great Diſaffection which is ſo often complained of; and all the Reward we have met with, has been a Struggle to keep what we were in Poſſeſſion of before, what was yielded to us by Treaties, and what there was no Pretence for Demanding, if we had thought it our Intereſt to have lain ſtill.

I hope we ſhall never engage in a new War, before we have conſidered all the Conſequences which will neceſſarily or probably happen from ſuch an Engagement, and have thought how we ſhall get out of it, as well as how to get into it. The firſt Step draws in all the reſt; and when we are in, we muſt go through. We may begin with Thouſands, but muſt go on with Millions. A Meſſage will produce a Quarrel, but Fleets and Armies muſt end it.

We well know and have long felt the Moderation of our Allies. We can no ſooner engage in their Squabbles, but they become our own; and then we muſt pay them for doing their own Buſineſs, and largely too, or elſe they threaten to leave the War upon us; and when it is ended through our Means, always divide the Spoil amongſt themſelves, and endeavour to make us pay likewiſe for the Peace. I would be glad to know what any of them have ever done for us, or would ſuffer us to do for our ſelves, in return for all that we have done for them; or what Courteſy they have ever ſhewn to us *Engliſhmen*, as *Engliſhmen*? I hope therefore, that we too ſhall at laſt, in our Turn, conſider only our own Intereſts, and what is beſt for our ſelves; and not ruin our ſelves yet further, and let others have

have the whole Advantage. But if we had no Occaſion given us for theſe Complaints, we have another and a ſhorter Anſwer to give to our good Allies; namely, that by helping them ſo long, we are rendered incapable of helping them any longer; and that all Treaties muſt ceaſe and become void, when it is impoſſible to perform them without utter Ruin to one of the Parties, and without deſtroying all the Ends for which theſe Treaties were made.

Let us take a ſhort Proſpect of the Journey we are to go, and conſider what will be the Reſult of ſuch an Undertaking. All Naval Armaments muſt be made at our Charge, and employ'd at a great diſtance from Home, to the Ruin of our Ships and our Seamen, and the Obſtruction of our Commerce: Armies muſt be ſent Abroad, or Money in the Name of Subſidies found out to pay thoſe which are there already: More Armies muſt be kept at Home to oppoſe Invaſions, and keep the People quiet: Great Land-Taxes muſt be raiſed, our Publick Funds be every Year increas'd, the People frighten'd with perpetual Alarms, which will ſink the Price of the old Stocks, and conſequently ſet an exorbitant Price upon the raiſing of new ones: We ſhall loſe a beneficial Trade to *Spain* and the *Mediterranean*; and probably *Portugal* will take that Opportunity to execute what they lately attempted. The Czar too may think it a favourable one to acknowledge ſome paſt Obligations, and other Nations may judge it a proper Time to bite the Stone that was thrown at them; and then we ſhall have little or no Trade at all, all our Commo-

Commodities and Manufactures will lie upon our Hands, and the People be ſtarv'd, or ſubſiſt by Ways which no honeſt Man can wiſh, and all Men ought to dread.

If *France* engages on the different Side we muſt have her too for our Enemy; if on the ſame Side, there can be no need of our Aſſiſtance. But if ſhe thinks it her Intereſt to lie ſtill; ſhe, who is the next Neighbour to both the Combatants, and is vaſtly more concern'd in the Event; what have we to do with them at this Diſtance, we who are no wiſe concerned whether the Emperor or *Spain* uſes the *Italians* worſt, or who has the Provinces contended for? When *Spain* had them, we ſuffered nothing by it; nor do I hear what we have got by the Emperor's being in Poſſeſſion of them. I purpoſely avoid ſaying any thing of the States-General, becauſe they will certainly have Wit enough to hug themſelves in the Folly of others, and profit by it.

And what ſhall we get by ſuch Feats of Knight-Errantry, but the diſintereſted Glory of ſerving others to our own Diſadvantage, and the Character of pious Chriſtians, in treating thoſe kindly who deſpitefully uſe us? Oh, but ſome tell us, that we are bound by Treaties to preſerve the Neutrality of *Italy*: Whether this is true, or the contrary is true, I know not; but if it is true, I doubt not but we ſhall be told how *England* came to be a Party to ſuch a Treaty; what were the Motives for making it; what Equivalent we had for it; what Intereſt of ours was ſerved by it; or what other Country, which we were concerned to preſerve, was

to

to reap the Advantage of it. And we ought to enquire too how Treaties, made for our Benefit, have been kept by our Allies; becauſe we are told (I hope, falſly) that one of them had once in his Cuſtody the Pretender to the King's Throne, with ſeveral other Traitors to his Government, and yet inſtead of delivering them up, ſet them at Liberty; and lately one of them refuſed, or declined to deliver up a much greater Traitor, when earneſtly requeſted by the Parliament, and, without doubt, importunately preſſed by the King's Miniſters.

I do not find that we have any Thing to fear from the King of *Spain*, if we do not give him Provocation; for the Secretary of State aſſured the Lord Mayor in his Letter ſince printed, that no foreign Potentate abetted, or gave any Countenance to the laſt intended Inſurrection; and if he would not aſſiſt a Conſpiracy actually, and, as we are told, deeply laid, there can be no Reaſon to believe that he will form a new one againſt a State that intends him no Harm, and can do him a great deal of Good; and ſurely it is not our Intereſt at this Time of Day to provoke him to do it in his own Defence. If he and the Emperor have a mind to make a Feaſt in *Italy*, let them bid whom they pleaſe to the Banquet, which without doubt will be a long one, and many neighbouring Princes will be gorged at it; but for us we have no Buſineſs there, unleſs to be Caterers, to ſupply the greateſt Part of the Proviſion, and to pay the Reckoning for the reſt. I once knew a Wager of Forty to One ſtaked down to be ſpent. But inſtead of

engaging

engaging our Country in ſuch expenſive and wild Whims, I hope we ſhall catch at ſo favourable an Opportunity, when thoſe who can moſt moleſt us are together by the Ears, to do our own Buſineſs, pay off our Debts, ſettle our Trade, and reform all the Abuſes of which we ſo juſtly complain.

But if ſuch a War was ever ſo neceſſary, how ſhall it be ſupported? We find by woful Experience, that Three Shillings in the Pound has not maintained the current Expence of the Government, but we have run ſtill in Debt. The Money given for the Civil Liſt has not defrayed that Charge, but new and large Sums have been given to pay off the Arrears; which, it is ſaid, are not yet paid off. New Salaries and new Penſions have been found neceſſary, to ſatisfy the Clamours of thoſe who will never be ſatisfied; and the greater Occaſions the Courtiers have, and the greater Neceſſities they are in, more will ſtill be found neceſſary; for it is no News for artful Men to engage their Superiors in Difficulties, and then to be paid largely for helping them out of them again. The Cuſtoms and Exciſe are anticipated and mortgaged almoſt beyond Redemption: The Salt, Leather, Windows, and almoſt every Thing elſe that can be taxed, is already taxed, and ſome of them ſo high, as to leſſen the Produce, and they are appropriated to pay off Debts due to private Men.

What new Sources will be found out to maintain a foreign War, and a much larger Expence in our own Country, which will be neceſſary to defend us againſt Enemies Abroad, whom

whom we ſhall provoke, and againſt diſcontented People at Home, who, it is to be feared, may ſay that they are oppreſſed and ſtarved? One additional Shilling in the Pound upon Land, if the Parliament can be perſwaded to give, and the People be eaſy in paying it, will be but as a Drop of Water thrown into the Ocean, whatever may be pretended at firſt; and then for all the Remainder we muſt run in Debt, if we can get any one to truſt us; and, where ſhall we raiſe new Funds? Here I doubt our Publicans, and Inventors of new Grievances, will be at their Wit's End: It is certain that the greater the Difficulty is in raiſing them, the greater muſt be the Price for raiſing them; and the preſent Stocks will be leſs valuable in Proportion, as new Demands make more neceſſary.

But ſuppoſe, to the infinite Diſſatisfaction of the People, and the utter Ruin and Deſtruction of all Trade, the little which is not already taxed, could be taxed, and turned into Funds to create new Markets for Stock-Jobbers, and enough could be raiſed to maintain a War for two or three Years; what ſhall we do next? It is moſt ſure that the Difficulty of obtaining a Peace, will grow in exact Proportion, as we become leſs capable to carry on the War; and what Aſſiſtance, think ye, my Countrymen, ſhall we have from our good Allies to obtain a Peace? Without doubt, we ſhall pay the Piper at laſt, and they will parcel out the contended Dominions amongſt themſelves, and attempt to make us give up *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* to bind the Bargain; and to pay beſides a large Sum

Sum of Money for the Ships we ſhall have deſtroyed, and the other Miſchiefs which we ſhall have done, and which we need not do. I hope it will never be our Lot to aſſiſt ſome of our Neighbours at a vaſt Expence, and then reward them at a further Expence for accepting our Aſſiſtance; and to beat others of our Neighbours, to our own Loſs as well as theirs, and pay them afterwards for having beat them: What would the World think of us in this Caſe, but that as *France* had got the Plague, *England* had got the Phrenzy; and that we were weakening ourſelves as faſt with our own Hands, as the Divine Hand had weakened them?

But if after all, we cannot get a Peace, or ſhall think fit not to ſubmit to the honourable Conditions which our honeſt and faithful Confederates ſhall judge good enough for Hereticks, what ſhall we do then? They will have no Motives to ſerve us when they have done their own Buſineſs, or rather when we have done it for them; and they have ſufficiently ſhewn already what Inclination they have to ſerve us; and if ever they have done it, they have been well paid for their Pains: What Condition ſhall we then be in to oppoſe one or more powerful Neighbours, and perhaps victorious ones too, when we are enervated and exhauſted, when our People are diſcontented at Home, and we have no regular Means to maintain Fleets and Armies, who muſt be forced to maintain themſelves if we cannot maintain them? Theſe Miſchiefs (and terrible ones they are) may be eaſily foreſeen, and ought to be prevented, if we

we would prevent abſolute and concluſive Ruin? What, think you, muſt in ſuch a Circumſtance of Affairs, become of the Funds? If we lie ſtill, they are loſt of Courſe; and if we apply them to our neceſſary Defence, Thouſands and Thouſands of innocent People muſt be undone and become deſperate, and infinitely inflame the popular Diſcontents, and ſtill make more Taxes, more, more Oppreſſions neceſſary: And yet who will be found ſo hard-hearted, as not to ſacrifice the Intereſts of Thouſands to the Safety of Millions, when no other Reſource is left?

Beware, my Friends, of the firſt Step, and know your whole Journey, before you move one Foot; when you are up to the Ears in Mire, it will be too late to look back. At firſt we may be told by our Confederates and their Creatures, that we need only bounce a little, and make a Shew of Force, and every Thing will go to our Mind; but a burnt Child will dread the Fire: When we are engaged, we cannot retreat; one Step will draw another; it will not depend upon our ſelves, whether we ſhall go on or not; the Game will be then in other Hands, who will play it to their own Advantage, without regarding ours; and what we begin in Wantonneſs, will probably end in our Confuſion.

What then muſt we think of any Men amongſt us, who would draw all theſe Miſchiefs, theſe inevitable Miſchiefs, upon their Country? They muſt certainly be egregiouſly fooliſh or conſummately wicked. I hope, and believe, there are no ſuch; but if there are, without

doubt

doubt they have taken their Meaſures, and have thought how to ſave themſelves, whatever becomes of their Country; but in that too they may chance to be miſtaken.

If it is neceſſary to the publick Safety to keep eight or ten Camps in Readineſs for Action in Times of full Peace, and when there is no outward Appearance of publick Diſturbances, and no foreign Power promotes or abets any ſuch; How many Camps will be neceſſary when we have Enemies aſſaulting us from Abroad, and combining and intriguing with our own Native Traytors at Home, eſpecially if the People ſhould be made ſtill more uneaſy by laying Burdens upon them which they cannot bear nor ſtand under? For my own Part, I can ſee no ſteady Source or continuing Cauſe for the Diſaffection ſo much complained of, but the great and heavy Variety of Taxes, of which our Anceſtors knew nothing, and which it is a Sort of a Science now to know; and I doubt that Diſaffection will not be cured by adding to the Number.

We can never, therefore, behave ourſelves with more true Duty to his Majeſty, give better Advice and Aſſiſtance to his Miniſtry, or acquit ourſelves with more Fidelity to our Country, than by oppoſing, in the moſt vigorous Manner, ſuch Meaſures as threaten them all with Ruin; and by ſhewing the utmoſt Reſentment againſt any ill-deſigning Perſons, who would wickedly and traiterouſly ſacrifice a great, free, and opulent Kingdom, to mad Whimſies, or the pitiful mean Intereſts of little States.

I am, &c.

SIR,

BOCCALINI tells us, that *Archimedes* was beat by the Bravoes in *Parnaſſus*, for finding out a Mathematical Demonſtration, by which it was plainly proved, that all the Deſigns of great, as well as private Men, was dexterouſly to get Money out of other People's Pockets, and put it in their own. And 'tis certain this is the grand Deſign and Buſineſs of all Mankind, the chief if not the only Spring of all their Actions, and animates and inſpires their beſt as well as worſt Performances. And how commendable ſoever this may be in private Men, who already enjoy all the Conveniencies of Life, it is certainly the Intereſt and Duty of States, by all prudent and juſt Methods, to encreaſe their Wealth and Power, and in Conſequence their Security and Protection. As Government is only the Union of many Individuals for their common Defence; ſo they cannot attain that deſirable End, unleſs by Accident of Situation, ſuperior Policy, or by ſufficient Number, they can render themſelves ſtrong enough to repel the Injuries, and oppoſe the Inſults, of ambitious and unruly Neighbours; otherwiſe they muſt ſubmit to be undone, or throw themſelves under the Protection of ſome greater Potentate, and accept ſuch Conditions as he pleaſes to give, and for no longer Duration than he pleaſes.

As this is the greateſt Miſchief which humane Nature can ſuffer, ſo every honeſt and wiſe Man will endeavour to free himſelf, his Family, and his Country, from this abject, lamentable and forlorn Condition; and contribute all in their Power to make the State they live under, great, rich, and formidable. I have already at large ſhewn, that no State in a ſmall Tract of Ground can be ſo, but by Liberty, which always produces Riches, and every Quality which can grace and adorn the Mind, and render Mankind preferable to the Brute-Creation.

Now nothing can be called Riches, but as it is applicable, or rather as it is applied to the Uſe of Men. The vaſt Tracts of *North-America* feed only a few ſcattered and half-ſtarved Inhabitants, whilſt the barren Rocks of *Switzerland* maintain in Plenty great Numbers of wealthy and happy People. All *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Epirus*, together, have not ſo much Power now, as ſingle Cities in them had formerly: Countries without Inhabitants will not defend themſelves, nor are worth defending; nor will they maintain Inhabitants without their own Induſtry and Application. Every Nation is rich and powerful, in exact Proportion to the Numbers, the Employment, or the Idleneſs of its People, and the Power of the State is the accumulative Wealth of the Whole; that is, what every Man can ſpare for the common Defence, over and above what is neceſſary for his own Subſiſtence; ſo that to make a State great, the People muſt be made rich and happy: Their private Happineſs will make

make them willing to defend their Country, and their Wealth will enable them to do it.

The Riches of private Men are ſuch Things as are neceſſary or conducive to their perſonal Support, Convenience, or Pleaſure; but many other Things are neceſſary for the Defence and Augmentation of States. There muſt be Fortreſſes, Artillery, armed Ships, and Magazines of War, and proper Encouragements given to skilful Perſons to make uſe of them. There muſt be often great Armies at Land, and Fleets at Sea, maintained and paid at the publick Expence, for the publick Security; all which muſt be maintained out of the Superfluities of thoſe who ſtay at Home; and if they have not all thoſe Materials neceſſary to their Preſervation, or conducive to their private Happineſs in their own Country, (as few Countries have) they muſt purchaſe them Abroad with the Produce of their own Country, or by Silver and Gold, which purchaſes all Commodities. Indeed, by the univerſal Conſent of Mankind, Silver and Gold is become the Medium of all Commerce; and every State, as well as private Man, is rich and powerful in Proportion, as he poſſeſſes or can command more or leſs of this univerſal Commodity, which procures all the reſt; all other Things are Riches only *hic & nunc*, but theſe will command every Thing, and almoſt every Perſon in the World

Gold and Silver are the Natives but of few Countries, and the Propriety of but few Perſons in thoſe Countries, and can be obtained by others only by their Conſent, or by Force and Rapine; and conſequently, no State can

grow more conſiderable than their native Soil will make them, but by robbing their Neighbours of what they themſelves want or deſire, or by perſwading them to part with it willingly, that is, either by Arms or Trade; and which of theſe two will conduce moſt to the Happineſs, Security and Augmentation of Empires, ſhall be the Subject of this Letter.

If we conſider this Queſtion under the Head of Juſtice and Humanity, what can be more deteſtable, than to murder and deſtroy Mankind, in order to rob and pillage them? War is comprehenſive of moſt, if not all the Miſchiefs which do or ever can afflict Men: It depopulates Nations, lays waſte the fineſt Countries, deſtroys Arts, Sciences, and Learning, butchers Innocents, ruins the beſt Men, and advances the worſt; effaces every Trace of Virtue, Piety and Compaſſion, and introduces Confuſion, Anarchy, and all Kinds of Corruption in publick Affairs; and indeed is pregnant with ſo many Evils, that it ought ever to be avoided, when it can be avoided; and it may be avoided when a State can be ſafe without it, and much more ſo when all the Advantages propoſed by it can be procured by prudent and juſt Methods.

All the Advantages procured by Conqueſt, are Security of what we poſſeſs our ſelves, or to gain the Poſſeſſions of others, that is, the Produce of their Country, and the Acquiſitions of their Labour and Induſtry; and if theſe can be obtained by fair Means, and by their own Conſent, ſure it muſt be more eligible than to extort them by Force.

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This is certainly more eaſily and effectually done by a well regulated Commerce, than by Arms: The Ballance of Trade will return more clear Money from neighbouring Countries, than can be forced from them by Fleets or Armies, and more advantageouſly than under the odious Name of Tribute: It enervates rival States by their own Conſent, and obliges them, whilſt it impoveriſhes and ruins them: It keeps our own People at Home employed in Arts, Manufactures, and Husbandry, inſtead of murdering them in wild, expenſive, and hazardous Expeditions, to the weakening their own Country, and the pillaging and deſtroying their Neighbours, and only for the fruitleſs and imaginary Glory of Conqueſt: It ſaves the Trouble, Expence, and Hazard of ſupporting numerous Standing Armies Abroad to keep the conquer'd People in Subjection; Armies, who for the moſt part too, if not always, enſlave their own Country, and ever ſwallow up all the Advantages of the Conqueſts. I have often wondered at the Folly and Weakneſs of thoſe Princes, who will ſacrifice Hundreds of Thouſands of their own faithful Subjects to gain a precarious and ſlaviſh Submiſſion from bordering Provinces, who will ſeek all Opportunities to revolt; which cannot be prevented but by keeping them poor, wretched, and miſerable, and conſequently unable to pay the Charges of their own Vaſſalage; when if the ſame Number of Men and the ſame Sums of Money were uſefully employed at Home, which are neceſſary to make and ſupport the

Conqueſt, they would add vaſtly more to their Power and Empire.

It is not the Extent of Territory and vaſt Tracts of barren and uncultivated Land, which make States great and powerful, but Numbers of induſtrious People under a proper Oeconomy, and advantageouſly and uſefully employed; and the ſame Number will be always more powerful in a ſmall Tract of Ground than a great one: They here are always at hand to aſſiſt one another, to carry on Manufactures, and to promote and execute any great Deſigns: All the Materials of Trade and Induſtry are in place, and by that Means the Charges of Carriage prevented, which ſwallows the Advantages of Commerce, and renders it unprofitable. The impoſſibility of ſubſiſting by Idleneſs, renders them induſtrious, Emulation rouſes their Ambition, and the Examples of others animate them to deſire to live in Splendor and Plenty; and all theſe Paſſions concur to ſet their Hands and Wits to work, and to promote Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures, to ſtrike out new Trades, form new Projects, and venture upon Deſigns Abroad to enrich their own Country at Home.

Great Numbers of People crowded together, are forced by their Neceſſities to turn every Stone, and try every Method to ſupport themſelves and Families, and by doing ſo will trace and diſcover by Degrees all the Sources of Wealth. All Ways will be found out to make Trade commodious and profitable, numerous Contrivances be thought on to come at the Materials of Manufactures eaſily and at cheap Rates,

Rates, and to work them again at the loweſt Prices. Rivers will be made navigable, Engines invented, which with the Aſſiſtance of few Hands, ſhall ſupply the Labour of Multitudes; Store-houſes will be built to depoſite Goods in, whilſt they wait for Markets; Fiſheries will be erected, Colonies planted to furniſh new Commodities and new Materials of Commerce, and will vent too and carry off thoſe turbulent and unruly Spirits, who are unfit to live in a peaceable State, and muſt rob, hang, or ſtarve there. By all theſe laudable Methods, and many more, Riches will be amaſſed, Money become cheap, and the Intereſt of it leſſened; and the lowering the Intereſt of Money will open new Trades, and ſtill bring in more Money, as well as improve the Native Territory, encreaſe vaſtly the Purchaſe of Land, and encourage the building of Cities and Towns; for the leſs Men expect for the Intereſt or Profit of their Principal, the more they can afford to lay out in Trade, Building, or Husbandry, to return but the ſame Income, and conſequently can grow rich by the Commerce and the ſame Improvements, which would undo Nations where the Intereſt of the Money is higher.

There are few Countries in the World, but by a due Culture would maintain many Times the Inhabitants which poſſeſs it, better than they are at preſent maintained. Our indulgent Mother will readily yield up her hidden Stores to ſuch of her Children, as make a proper Courtſhip and Application to her: The Treaſures of the Earth and Seas are inexhauſtible;

one Acre of Ground well manured, cultivated, and ſowed with Corn, will produce Ten-times as much for the Suſtenance of Man, as ten Acres not cultivated, or ill cultivated: And one Acre in Gardens will produce Ten-times as much as in Corn; and it is much eaſier, cheaper, and profitable, to improve our own Country, and ſo encreaſe its Productions, than to fetch the like Productions by Force from others. It is more ſafe, as well as virtuous, to accept the willing and chaſte Embraces of conjugal Affection, than by Violence to extort forbidden and dangerous Pleaſures, and which for the moſt part, if not always, fail our Expectations.

But ſuppoſing the Soil belonging to any Nation ſhould not be ſufficient to ſupport all its Inhabitants, which I believe is the Caſe of *Holland*, yet it is certain they may purchaſe from their Neighbours what they want for very much leſs than they can earn at Home in Arts and Manufactures. Labour in Husbandry is the leaſt profitable Employment in the World, and ten Men ſo employed will not earn the Wages of one good Artiſt, and the meaneſt Mechanicks and Artificers earn more than Husbandmen, and conſequently have a Surplus from their own Labour after they have bought the Production of the other's Induſtry. This is the Circumſtance of Cities and trading Towns, who have no Growth of their own, and yet grow rich by retailing and manufacturing the Growth of the neighbouring Countries, over and above what they conſume for their own Subſiſtence and Uſe; and the ſame is true of trading

trading States. As *Tyre*, and other free States did formerly, ſo *Holland* at preſent grows vaſtly Rich and Formidable, by keeping its Neighbours employed in the poor and menial Trade of Husbandry, whilſt they employ their own People in Arts and Manufactures; a ſmall Part of which ſupplies them with the Productions of the other's Labour, and with the reſt they purchaſe a great Part of the Riches of the World; and by thoſe Means they have made themſelves more conſiderable in that little Spot of Land, than great Empires have done by Conqueſt, which always corrupts and often enſlaves the Conquerours as well as the Conquered.

I am, &c.

SIR,

HAving in my laſt Letter conſidered Silver and Gold as the only certain, durable and univerſal Riches, and that the attaining them is the chief View and Deſign of all Mankind; I ſhall in this conſider a Queſtion which puzzles the greateſt Part of the World, and which, as I think, they for the moſt Part determine wrongly; namely, when a Nation is once poſſeſſed of them, whether it is their Intereſt to let them be exported again? In this I have the Opinion of moſt States againſt me, who prohibit the carrying them out under the ſevereſt Penalties, ſometimes before, and ſometimes

after they are converted into their current Coin; and to me nothing ſeems more injurious, impertinent, and impotent, than to make ſuch Laws.

No Soil or Climate produces all Commodities, and no Nation works all Sorts of Manufactures which are of common and neceſſary Uſe; nor can any Man, by his own Skill and Labour, make or acquire any conſiderable Part of ſuch Things as he wants or deſires; and conſequently he can have no Means of attaining them, but by exchanging what he does not want, for what he does. But ſince it does and will moſt commonly happen, that the Perſon who is poſſeſſed of the Commodity which one Man deſires, does not want what he has to give in Lieu of it, or not enough of it to anſwer the Value of what he parts with; therefore ſomething elſe muſt be found out to make the Account even.

From hence Mankind have found themſelves under a Neceſſity to agree upon ſome univerſal Commodity, which ſhall meaſure the Value of all the reſt, and ballance all Accounts at laſt. Hitherto nothing has been diſcovered, which will anſwer that Purpoſe ſo effectually as Silver and Gold: Their Contexture hinders them from being periſhable, their Diviſibility qualifies them to anſwer all Occaſions, their Scarcity enhances their Price, ſo as to make a great Value lie in a narrow Compaſs, and eaſily portable; and the more regular and equal Supplies of them than of other Commodities, render them proper Standards for the Valuation of other Things. Theſe therefore being by general and

and almoſt univerſal Agreement, the Mediums of Commerce, the Ballance of all Traffick, and the ultimate View and chief Advantage propoſed by it, we are to conſider how far thoſe Ends and Advantages can be anſwered by exporting them again.

Now it is certain, that many Commodities of abſolute and indiſpenſible Uſe, are in the Poſſeſſion of Nations who do not want thoſe which we have to give in Exchange for them; or knowing our Neceſſities, will not part with them but for Silver and Gold; and therefore we muſt have them upon their Terms, or not have them at all. Some of them are the Materials of our Manufactures, which will return to us again many times the Money we advance in procuring them; and very often they are neceſſary to carry on Trade in general, as enabling the Merchants to make Aſſortments of Goods proper for particular Markets, or are the Materials of Navigation, or Magazines for War and common Defence.

No Country wants always the ſame Supplies, or has the ſame Growth and Quantity of Manufactures to purchaſe them; nor can any Merchant have a clear View of the whole Commerce of the Country he deals with; nor do the Commodities always bear the ſame Price; ſo that the Ballance will often vary, and muſt be paid at laſt in thoſe univerſal Commodities. No Nation or private Man will deal with another, who will not pay his Debts; and if he has not other Commodities to pay them with, or if thoſe he has are not wanted, or will not be accepted in Payment, he muſt pay them in

in ſuch as will; and whatever it coſts him, muſt deliver them into the Cuſtody, or to the Order and Satisfaction of his Creditor.

It is fooliſh to imagine, that any Precautions, or the greateſt Penalties, will keep Money in any Country where 'tis the Intereſt of Numbers to carry it out: The Experience of every Nation may convince us of this Truth; Gold and Silver lie in ſo little Compaſs, are ſo eaſily concealed, and there are ſo many Conveniencies and Opportunities to carry them off, that ſmall Encouragements will always find Adventurers, and thoſe Adventurers will almoſt always ſucceed. There is no Way in Nature to hinder Money from being exported, but by hindering the Occaſions of it, that is, by hindering the Uſe and Conſumption of thoſe Things which it is ſent out to buy; for when they are bought, they muſt be paid for, or all Traffick is at an End.

Theſe Propoſitions being, as I conceive, ſelf-evident; it is next to be diſcuſſed, whether it is the Intereſt of a State to permit their Money to go out freely, or by annexing Penalties to the exporting it, enhance the Difficulty, and raiſe the Price of carrying it out, by obliging the Exporter to pay himſelf largely for his own Hazard, as well as the Hazard of the Seas; and I think nothing is more demonſtrable, than that the greater Obſtacle is laid in his Way, and the greater Hazard he runs, the more he will be obliged to export; for whatever he has agreed to pay beyond Sea, muſt be diſcharged, whatever it coſts him to get it thither, and he

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is to be paid beſides all the Charges of getting it thither.

Bills of Exchange only ſerve the Purpoſe, and ſave the Expence of Paying the Carrier; for if one Man has Money due to him Abroad, and the other wants the ſame Sum here, they will both ſave the Charges of Carriage, by one's paying it where he does not want it, and the other's receiving it where he does; but if there be more Demands by the Merchants of one Country upon their Correſpondents in another, than the others can pay by the Produce of their Effects, or from Debts due to them elſewhere, (which will be accepted as Payment) the Surplus muſt be returned in Silver and Gold, and they muſt pay too the Perſons who carry it; and other Merchants ſeeing their Neceſſity, will take Advantage of it, and receive Premiums for as much as they can return in Bills, in Proportion to the Charge it will coſt to ſend it in Specie, and the Haſte their Creditors are in to receive it: But herein they will not have Regard only to the Commerce between thoſe particular Nations, but to the Courſe and Ballance of general Trade; for Bills often travel from Country to Country, and take a large Circuit before they center, and the Account is finally made up at home. And this I take to be the whole Myſtery of Exchange, which is either Paying, or ſaving the Charge of Paying the Carrier; and if you don't do it your ſelf, others, who do it for you, will reap Advantage from it.

Since then Money or Bullion muſt be exported, when Debts are contracted abroad, I think

think it is eligible to ſend out the firſt rather than the latter, or at leaſt to leave People at Liberty to export which they pleaſe. Indeed, they are the ſame Thing; for all Money is Bullion, and all Bullion is eaſily convertible into Money, and all which is not otherwiſe manufactured, would be converted into it, if there was no Diſadvantage in doing ſo. The Advantages are obvious, and the Charge to the Proprietors nothing; for the Stamp of Authority aſcertains the Weight and the Fineneſs; and the dividing it into ſmall Parcels, makes it more uſeful for Commerce, which renders it more valuable Abroad as well as at Home, and conſequently Foreigners will be contented to pay Part, if not the Whole of the Charge of Coining it. It could in no Circumſtance be of leſs Value, if it was not denied a Privilege and Advantage it had before it was coined, which is the Liberty of Exportation, and being uſed in foreign as well as domeſtick Trade; for whilſt free Liberty of Exportation is allowed to one, and denied to the other, and yet there are frequent and neceſſary Occaſions of exporting one or the other, it muſt happen that either Money will be melted into Bullion, and ſo the Manufacture be loſt, or Bullion muſt be bought by Money at a Price anſwerable to the Neceſſity or the Hazard of carrying it in Specie abroad, or of melting it down at home, and the Expence of Conſcience afterwards in ſwearing it to be foreign Bullion; which ſometimes has raiſed the Price 8 or 10 *per Cent.*

Now it muſt be obvious to any one, who the leaſt conſiders this Queſtion, how much ſuch

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Prohibition muſt affect our general Trade, they being equivalent to the putting an equal Duty upon the Exportation of our own Commodities, which all wiſe Nations encourage by all Ways they can, and often by giving Premiums to the Exporter. They give to other Nations the Means and Opportunity to trade ſo much *per Cent.* cheaper than we can, which muſt certainly carry away from us many valuable Trades: They enhance the Value of all foreign Materials which we uſe in our Manufactures, that are bought with Bullion or Money as many of them are, which muſt in Conſequence raiſe the Price of theſe Manufactures, and hinder their Sale; and above all, make the Materials of Navigation dear to us, upon which all Trade in a great Meaſure depends, and the Carriage-Trade wholly.

But not only thoſe Trades, which are altogether or partly carried on by Bullion or Money, will be affected by them, but all Trade whatſoever; for as I have before ſhewn that Bullion, being the Medium of the Value of all Commodities between Nation and Nation, as Money is between People of the ſame Nation, if the latter being of equal Weight and Fineneſs with the former, and yet leſs valuable; then of neceſſary Conſequence home Commodities muſt be ſold cheaper in foreign Countries, and theirs muſt ſell dearer here, which muſt alter the Ballance proportionably to our Diſadvantage; for we ſell at home for our own Money, and buy abroad with Bullion, which are equally valuable in themſelves, the Coinage excepted, and

and will be equally bought in foreign Markets for the ſame Quantity of Commodities.

Suppoſe, for Example, Corn bore the ſame Price in reſpect of Silver and Gold here, as in *Holland*, and yet we muſt give more for it when that Silver and Gold is converted into Money than they do, who get the Difference by importing their Silver; then it is evident that they can afford to buy it of us, and ſell it again to foreign Markets cheaper than we can, and ſometimes to our ſelves, and conſequently muſt carry away that Trade from us. Theſe Events are inevitable, unleſs we let our Money be exported, or turn all our Coin into Bullion, and make that the Medium of domeſtick as well as foreign Commerce, which muſt ſoon be our Caſe, and every Day grows more and more ſo; for who will give himſelf the Trouble of carrying his Bullion to the Mint to have it made leſs valuable than before; whereas if Money had the ſame Liberty of Exportation as Bullion has, all the Silver not otherwiſe manufactured, would immediately be carried thither and coined, and leſs of it be carry'd out afterwards for the Reaſons before given.

But whilſt it remains upon the preſent Foot, whatever Contracts are made for *Engliſh* Goods in *Engliſh* Money, will be paid for with leſs Bullion, than will coin into the ſame Quantity of Money; and whatever are bought abroad will coſt us more Money than the ſame is worth in Bullion; ſo that Foreigners will chuſe to carry off our Money, rather than our Bullion or Goods, and will afterwards melt it down, and find their Account in returning it upon

upon us again for more Money; and ſo on till they have got all we have, which can be prevented alone by putting coined and uncoined Silver upon the ſame Foot, and giving them equal Advantages, the Coinage excepted.

Till this is done, we muſt ſuffer in our Exchange with moſt, if not all the Countries in the World; for whilſt our Coin in Quantity is leſs valuable than Bullion, and theirs equal or more valuable, every Thing we buy or ſell muſt be affected by it; and we muſt pay our Debts with more Silver, and receive them in leſs than they do, which muſt make a vaſt Difference in the Return of our whole Trade.

This is ſo much the Intereſt of every Party, and almoſt every Man in every Party, that I have often wonder'd how ſo many able Patriots that have ſat at the Helm ſhould never once think of doing their Country this great Service. I cannot doubt but Men of their great Abilities muſt underſtand this plain Propoſition; and methinks they ſhould ſometimes find it their Intereſt and Duty to ſave a little Money for their Countrymen, and not always to be taking from them, eſpecially when they loſe themſelves nothing by doing ſo much good to others; and tho' ſome People who do not underſtand the Benefit of ſuch a Law, may be at firſt diſtaſted by it, yet I could wiſh to ſee that thoſe who have had no Regard to their Opinions when they were doing Miſchief to them, would not be ſo over-ſcrupulous of offending them in once doing them and their Country this great and general Benefit.

I am, &c.

SIR,

MOST Men ſee the Advantages of Trade to a Country, and to every Man in it; but very few know how to improve thoſe Advantages, and much fewer endeavour to do ſo. As ſoon as any Law is enacted, or propos'd for Publick Benefit, particular Men ſet their Wits to work how to draw ſeparate Advantages from thoſe Proviſions, whatever becomes of the Publick; and indeed it is not to be hoped, much leſs expected, they ſhould ever do otherwiſe. But what is moſt to be lamented is, that the Publick very often ſuffers by their not conſulting their real Intereſts, and in purſuing little Views, whilſt they loſe great and ſubſtantial Advantages. A very ſmall Part of Mankind have Capacities large enough to judge of the Whole of Things, but catch at every Appearance which promiſes preſent Benefit, without conſidering how it will affect their general Intereſt; and ſo bring Misfortunes and laſting Miſery upon themſelves, to gratify a preſent Appetite, Paſſion or Deſire.

This is certainly true in almoſt every Circumſtance of Publick and Private Life: The latter falls within all Mens Obſervation, and the other happens as often, tho' not as often taken Notice of. How many are there, who do not prefer a ſervile Office or Penſion before the general Intereſt of their Country, in which their

their own is involv'd, and ſo ſacrifice their Liberty and the Protection they receive from equal Laws, for momentary and precarious Advantages; and by ſuch Means loſe or hazard a large Inheritance, or make it much leſs valuable, for trifling Benefits, which will not pay half the Difference?

Nothing is ſo much the Intereſt of private Men as to ſee the Publick flouriſh; for without mentioning the Pleaſure and internal Satisfaction which a generous Mind muſt receive, in ſeeing all People about him contented and happy, inſtead of meagre and ſtarv'd Looks, Nakedneſs and Rags, and dejected and melancholly Faces; to ſee all Objects gay and pleaſing; to ſee fruitful and well manur'd Fields; rich, ſplendid and populous Cities, inſtead of barren Rocks, uncultivated Deſarts, and diſpeopled and empty Towns: I ſay, beſides avoiding all this Horrour, every Man's private Advantage is ſo much wrapt up in the publick Felicity, that every Sep he takes to depreciate his Country's Happineſs, he thereby undermines and deſtroys his own: When the Publick is ſecure, and Trade and Commerce flouriſh, every Man who has Property, or the Means of acquiring Property, will find and feel the bleſſed Effects of ſuch a Circumſtance of Affairs; all the Commodities he has to diſpoſe of will find a ready Vent, and at a good Price; his Inheritance will encreaſe every Day in value; he is encouraged, and finds it his Intereſt to build, and improve his Lands, cultivate new Trades, and promote new Manufactures; and by theſe Means the People will be employed, and enabled

abled to live in Plenty, to marry, encre
and pay for the Productions of the L
which otherwiſe will have little or no Prod
on: Foreigners will be invited to partak
our Happineſs, and add to the Publick St
and even the Poor and Helpleſs will have t
Share in the general Felicity, ariſing from
Superfluities and Charity of the Rich; but
Reverſe of this glorious and happy Scene ſh
itſelf in enſlaved and corrupted Nations.

But as this is abundantly the Intereſt of
vate Men, 'tis much more ſo of Princes:
Riches of a Prince are the Riches of his
ple, and his Security and chief Happineſs
their Affections: They do not conſiſt in p
pous Guards, ſplendid Courts, heaped up
extorted Wealth, ſervile and flattering P
ſites, numerous, expenſive, and glittering
tendants, Profuſion and Extravagance; bu
the ſteady and faithful Duty and Devotion
a grateful and contented People, who de
and own their Happineſs to flow from
Care and Beneficence. Flatterers and Para
often will find it their Intereſt to betray
(and what elſe can be expected from thoſe
betrayed their Country firſt?) His Guards c
revolt from him, and ſometimes murder
and neither can be depended upon in any
gency of his Affairs; his amaſſed Wealth
be often their Plunder, and his Deſtructior
Price of their new Engagements. But a w
People can never have an Intereſt ſeparate
the Intereſts of a good Prince: Their diffi
Wealth will be always at his Call, becau
is to be expended for their own Benefit: T

Pe

Perſons will ever be at his Command, to defend themſelves and him; This is a Source of Wealth and Power, which can ſcarce ever be exhauſted. When Men fight for themſelves and their All, they are not to be conquered till they are extinguiſhed; and there are few Inſtances where they have been ever conquered, at leaſt till they were not worth conquering.

Beſides, the Superfluities and wanton Gifts of a free and happy People, will bring more Money into his Coffers, than Racks and Armies can extort from enſlaved Countries: The States of *Brabant* alone gave more Money formerly to the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Charles* the Fifth, than in all Probability the whole Seventeen Provinces would have yielded to *Spain* ſince, if they had been all ſubdued; and I dare ſay, if *England* ever loſes its Liberties, its Princes, in a little Time, would not be able, with Whips and Chains, to force as much Money out of it in ſeven Years as we have ſeen it pay in one: They might fetch Blood and Tears from their Subjects, but little elſe. It is undeniably therefore true, that the Publick Intereſt is the Intereſt of both Prince and People, which almoſt every one owns in Words; and yet how few do ſo in their Actions?

Every Man ſees the Advantage of being formidable Abroad, and ſafe at Home, and knows we cannot attain either but by being at the Charge of it; and that the more equally and impartially Taxes are laid, the Fewer will be neceſſary, and more Money raiſed; and yet how few Men will come into equal and impartial Taxes? And what have any got by contrary

trary Methods? 'Tis certain leſs Taxes than are [illegible] paid to one another, if fairly levied at [illegible] would have ended all our Wars, and not left us one Penny in Debt; whereas every Landed Man in *England* now owes the fourth or fifth Part of his Eſtate to the Publick Engagements, by declining the Payment of perhaps the Tenth Part of it when it was due, or ought to have been due; and beſides, has rendered all the reſt inſecure, by diſenabling the Publick to defend it.

Who, intereſted in the National Funds, does not ſee, that if ſome Method is not ſoon taken to pay them off, they can never be paid at all; that no Nation will deliver themſelves up to a foreign Enemy, or be contented to languiſh, expire, and periſh at home, to make good juggling and extorting Bargains, cooked up between Courtiers and Brokers; that publick Neceſſities will happen in the Courſe of humane Affairs, and thoſe Neceſſities will juſtify or colour uncommon Meaſures; and that corrupt Miniſters, in Times to come, may adviſe their Maſters to extraordinary Courſes, and deſperate Acts of Power? And yet, how many are there amongſt theſe Gentlemen (the greateſt Part of whoſe Fortunes depend upon theſe Events) who will fall into any effectual Meaſures to make the Payment of theſe Debts due to themſelves practicable, or that are not ready to catch at and promote the raiſing a new Fund; tho' they muſt ſee that every Step they take towards it, renders the Payment of the old Ones deſperate?

How

How many Courtiers have we ſeen in our Days, that have not done every Thing they condemned in their Predeceſſors; tho' by doing ſo they undermine the Ground upon which they ſtood, and play'd the Game into their Enemies Hands again, who did the ſame before into theirs? How often have we ſeen them decline any Means of raiſing Money, tho' ever ſo fatal to Trade or their Country? Or when have we ſeen them expend it afterwards with Frugality and Prudence, to prevent the Neceſſity of raiſing it over again? And yet by acting thus, they leſſened their own Intereſt with the People, and in conſequence too with their Prince, who generally will find it neceſſary to diſcard them when they become odious or contemptible; and ſometimes will think it prudent to recommend himſelf to his People, by delivering them up as Sacrifices to publick Vengeance; whereas if they acted a faithful and juſt Part, they might grow old in Power, and be double Bleſſings to their Prince and to their Fellow Subjects.

Who does not ſee the Benefit of Navigable Rivers, which makes the carrying out our own Commodities, and the bringing to us what we want cheap and eaſy; and conſequently encreaſes the Price of the former, and leſſens the Price of the latter? And yet a Project of that kind always meets Oppoſition from many People upon trifling Motives, without ever conſidering the Advantages on the other Side, which moſt commonly muſt over-ballance their imaginary Loſſes, by computing their whole Income and Expence.

All

All private Men ſee the Benefit that would accrue to *England*, and to almoſt every Man in it, by bringing all the Materials of Navigation, and particularly Iron, from our own Plantations, which are for the moſt part bought for Money from rival States, who may be, and are often our Enemies. Tho' this would ſettle our Naval Power upon a fixed and ſolid Foundation, and no longer let it depend upon accidental and precarious Supplies, liable to the Impoſitions and Caprices of thoſe Nations, and ſubject to be intercepted by others who may be in War with us; yet we have ſeen oftner than once, that Gentlemen of great Eſtates have denied their Country this general Good, and preferred the little Advantage of Selling a particular Wood at an advanced Price, or the Encouragement of a private Iron-work, to ſo great a Benefit to themſelves and their Country; without ever giving themſelves leave to ballance the much greater Augmentation of Wealth and Security which would accrue perſonally to them, by keeping ſo much Money in their Country; and bringing in a great deal more from foreign States, by making Navigation eaſy and cheap, by ſupplying themſelves and their Tenants with the Inſtruments and Utenſils of Husbandry, Building, and Houſe-keeping at lower Rates, and ſo enabling themſelves to make greater Profit of their Lands, and their Tenants to pay them greater Rents; and above all, the publick Safety and Power, of which every Member will ſoon find the ſenſible Effects in his own private Affairs.

I con-

I confeſs it is generally true, that the Intereſt of any Country is to make all Sorts of Manufactures themſelves, rather than fetch them from neighbouring Countries, or even from their own Plantations; but it is always an Exception to that Truth, when thoſe Manufactures are neceſſary to carry on other Trades which will return much greater Benefit; and more ſo when they are neceſſary to carry on all Trade in general, as Iron and Shipping undoubtedly are, upon the Cheapneſs of which all the Trade in the World in a great Meaſure depends.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I Have in my laſt Letter given ſome Inſtances of Men, who, to ſeparate themſelves from the Publick, act againſt their own Intereſt, by being too partial to it; but I confeſs it ſometimes happens that private Perſons may receive perſonal Advantages from publick Loſſes; and then conſidering the Depravity of humane Nature, we are not to hope, and leſs to preſume upon their acting againſt themſelves for others Advantage. The chief Inducement which Men have to act for the Intereſt of one State before another is, becauſe they are Members of it, and that their own Intereſt is involved in the general Intereſt; and the ſame Motives, which for the moſt part

engage them to promote the Advantages of that peculiar Society, of which they are a Part, before all others, will alſo engage them to prefer themſelves and their own Family before the Intereſts of every Member, or all the Members together of the ſame Society, whatever becomes of Conſcience, Honour, and Generoſity. Men will be Men, in ſpight of all the Lectures of Philoſophy, Virtue, and Religion.

This will be often the Intereſt of particular Men, but can never be the Intereſt of the whole Society, or the major Part of them, whoſe Intereſt muſt ever be the general Intereſt, that is, the diffuſive Advantage of the Whole, which muſt ſuffer in proportion to what any Man gets irregularly; and therefore it is their common Duty to prevent the unfair Gains and Depredations of one another; which indeed is the Buſineſs of Government, *viz.* to ſecure to every Man his own, and to prevent the Crafty, Strong, and Rapacious, from preſſing upon or circumventing the Weak, Induſtrious, and Unwary.

I have often wondered how whole Societies (of which every one intends moſt religiouſly himſelf and his own Benefit) yet can altogether ſo eaſily be made the Dupes of one another, or of leſſer Societies amongſt themſelves, not only in ſuch Matters as do not fall within vulgar Obſervation, but in Inſtances which are obvious to the meaneſt Capacities. All the Gentlemen through *England* have their Eſtates ranſacked, and are deprived of whatever makes their Tables elegant and curious, to put Fiſhmongers and Poulterers Wives, at *London*, in Laces

Laces and Jewels, without adding to the Plenty there, much of it being deſtroyed or ſuffered to rot or ſtink by thoſe Miſcreants, to keep up the Price: Their Cattle ſell for little in the Country, and will not pay the Grazier who muſt pay them their Rents; and yet by the Juglings and Combination of Butchers and Saleſmen, the Markets are not cheaper ſupplied; but thoſe Inſects ſwallow up the Rents of the Landlord, and the Labour of the Huſbandman, as ſome of the Factors do of the Manufacturer: The old uſeful Laws againſt Regrators, Foreſtallers, *&c.* all lie faſt aſleep, and no new ones are thought on to enforce them; and yet the Nobility and Gentry of *England* ſpend many Months every Year in Parliament, ſee all this, buy their own Productions at many times the Price they ſell them; but are ſo wholly taken up with other much leſs Views, that they ſuffer this great Miſchief to go on, and every Day to encreaſe, upon no other Pretence than the Privileges of particular Societies of Tradeſmen, who pretend a Right to Oppreſſion; as if any Man could have a Right or Privilege inconſiſtent with the publick Good, and was not ever to be ſubſervient to it. It is true, that no Government ought to take away Mens natural Rights, the Buſineſs and Deſign of Government itſelf being to defend them; but ſure ſuch partial and adventitious Advantages as they receive to the Detriment of others by ill Laws, may be taken away by good ones: But no ſooner any Attempt is made to remedy theſe univerſal Grievances, but the Clamour and Sollicitation of

theſe humble and inferior Oppreſſors puts an End to the Remedy.

I do not wonder that thoſe who ſubſiſt by Oppreſſion themſelves, ſhould countenance all other Sorts of it; 'tis their common Intereſt to protect one another; but that the Country Gentlemen, who ſuffer by all Kinds of it, and who have the Means in their Hands to prevent them, ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be plundered and impoveriſhed, to enrich Harpies and Pickpockets, and enable them to live in Pride and Luxury, is ſo ſtupendious, that it could not be believed, if we did not conſtantly ſee it.

But theſe are petty Abuſes, when compared to the much greater Grievances of uniting great Numbers of artful and wealthy Merchants into Conſpiracies and Combinations againſt general Trade, and by that Means giving or ſelling the Induſtry and Acquirements of a whole Nation to ſatiate and glut a few over grown Plunderers, and in the End to deſtroy the Trade itſelf; which muſt ever be the Caſe, when committed to the Management of excluſive Companies. The Succeſs and Improvements of Trade depend wholly upon ſupplying the Commodities cheap at Market; and whoever can afford thoſe of equal Goodneſs at but half *per Cent.* cheaper than his Neighbours, will command the Sale. Now 'tis impoſſible any Company can do this upon equal Terms with a private Merchant, nor would they if they could: Private Men will think of every Way to come at their Goods cheap, will make it their whole Buſineſs to work

work up the Manufacturies themſelves, or buy them at the beſt Hand, will ſearch narrowly into their Excellencies or Defects, will procure Carriage at the loweſt Prices, ſee them ſhipped themſelves, and ſometimes ſell them in Perſon, and as they find proper and advantageous Opportunities; and the mutual Emulation and Contention with one another for the Preference of Markets, obliges them to ſell often for little Profit, and ſometimes to Loſs, in Expectation of better Fortune at other Times; but nothing of this is ever done by Companies.

Thoſe who have the Direction of their Affairs, have often but ſmall Part of their Fortunes embarked in their Stock, and always have an Intereſt ſeparate from that of the Company, and commonly, if not always, raiſe vaſt Eſtates at their Expence; the Materials of their Ships, and the Commodities they carry, are generally ſold by themſelves, or bought of their Friends and Relations by Confederacy, at exorbitant Prices; Favourite Shipwrights are employed for Preſents; their Relations or Creatures are made Captains or Maſters of their Veſſels, to carry on private Commerce, to the Detriment of the Company; Governours of Forts, Factors, and Agents, are ſent Abroad to get great Eſtates upon the Publick, and perhaps ſhare them with their Patrons at Home; their Goods ſhall be ſet in ſuch Lots, and ſold at ſuch Times as ſhall be moſt for the private Intereſt of the governing Directors, who will have them often bought up in Truſt for themſelves or Friends; and by theſe Means

as the Company oppreſſes the reſt of the Nation, the Governours and Directors cheat the Company: But if theſe Truſtees are ever ſo honeſt, they will not take the ſame Pains for others as for themſelves; nor can it be expected that Men of their Fortunes will employ their whole Time for ſuch Allowances as are or can be afforded by the Society who employs them.

Beſides, it is the Intereſt of the Nation to ſell their Commodities at as good a Price as the Markets Abroad can afford to buy them, and to bring in foreign Commodities as cheap as they can afford to ſell them, eſpecially ſuch as do not interfere with our own, (which ought to be prohibited, when it can be done without a greater Inconvenience;) and the Intereſt of Companies is directly contrary to all this; for other People being prohibited to deal in the ſame Commodities, they can put what Price they pleaſe upon both, and ever will put what is moſt for their Advantage, and ſo ſtarve the Manufacturer at Home, at the ſame Time as their Agents charge great Prices to the Company, and ſell the Commodities they bring in Return of them at extravagant Advantages, often to the Diſcouragement of our own Manufactures, which depend upon their Cheapneſs; their Buſineſs being always to encreaſe the Price of Stock, without encreaſing Trade.

Beſides all this, they keep Forts Abroad at a great Expence, to colour the Neceſſity of ſuch Monopolies, and to oppreſs and rob the Natives there with Security; for 'tis a Jeſt to imagine they can any ways conduce to fair Trade;

Trade: Every Nation in the World that has any Thing to buy or ſell, will ſee their Account in doing ſo, and will find it their Intereſt to encourage a fair Commerce, which will be ever for their own Advantage; and if they do not, there is no trading with them againſt their own Conſents, though their Country is encompaſſed with Forts, which will only provoke and make them Enemies; and in Fact, the private Traders to *Africk* pay the Company Ten *per Cent.* towards their Forts, and ſeldom or never come near them, or receive any Benefit by them, and yet have broke the Company whilſt they thrive themſelves: The ſame was true of the Interlopers to *India* formerly, who neither deſired nor were ſuffered to take any Advantage of the Company's Forts, and always were oppreſſed by their Governours, or Agents, and Captains of Ships, and yet would ſoon have undone them if they had been ſuffered to go on.

The *Dutch* make other Advantages of their Forts and Garriſons, which is to keep great conquered Realms and powerful Kings in Subjection, and ſecure to themſelves the whole Commerce of their Countries, by which Means they have almoſt the Monopoly of the Spices in the World; of which it is ſaid, they every Year burn Mountains to keep up the Price, as all excluſive Companies will ever do; but we have ſcarce any Trade to ſome of thoſe Places, where we are at the Charge of keeping Forts, which ſtand there no Mortal can tell why. But ſuppoſing Forts were neceſſary to carry on any particular Trade, what Colour is there to

deny that they ought to be kept at the publick Expence, or by the Contributions of all the Merchants, who are to receive Advantage from them, in Proportion to the Trade they carry on; or what Pretence is there to confine an advantageous Trade to one Town alone, and to but few Men in that Town.

So that upon the Whole, if we conſider theſe Companies only as they regard Trade, which is the only Pretence for eſtabliſhing them, they are the Bane of all fair Commerce, the Diſcouragement of our Manufactures, the Ruin of private and induſtrious Traders, and muſt end in the Ruin of themſelves, and all Trade whatever; and no one receives Advantage from them, but their Governours, Directors, Commanders, or Agents at Home and Abroad, who have ever raiſed immenſe Eſtates, whilſt the Kingdom has been impoveriſhed, and the Company undone: But there are other Miſchiefs ſtill behind, which ſtrike yet much deeper, namely, the Influence and Violence they bring upon our Conſtitution; which ſhall be the Subject of my next Letter.

I am, &c.

SIR

SIR,

IN my laſt Letter I have conſidered excluſive Companies, as they affect the Trade and Commerce of the Kingdom; and in this I ſhall view them in relation to our Conſtitution, and ſhew that they alter the Ballance of our Government, too much influence our Legiſlature, and are ever the Confederates or Tools of ambitious and deſigning Stateſmen.

Very great Riches in private Men are always dangerous to States, becauſe they create a greater Dependence than can be conſiſtent with the Security of any ſort of Government whatſoever; they place Subjects upon too near a Level with their Sovereigns; make the Nobility ſtand upon too great an Inequality in reſpect of one another; deſtroy amongſt the Commons, that Ballance of Property and Power, which is neceſſary to a Democracy, or the democratical Part of any Government, overthrow the Poiſe of it, and indeed alter its Nature, tho' not its Name: For this Reaſon, States who have not an *Agrarian* Law, have uſed other Means of Violence or Policy to anſwer the ſame Ends: Princes often, either by extraordinary Acts of Power, by feigned Plots and Conſpiracies, and ſometimes by the Help of real ones, have cut off theſe excreſcent Members and Rivals of their Authority, or muſt have run the Hazard of being cut off by

them. Ariſtocracies put them upon expenſive Embaſſies, or load them with honorary and chargeable Employments at home, to drain and exhauſt their ſuperfluous and dangerous Wealth; and Democracies provide againſt this Evil, by making their Eſtates divide after their Deaths, amongſt their Children or Relations in equal Degree.

We have Inſtances of the firſt in all Arbitrary Monarchies, as well as in all the *Gothick* Governments formerly, and in *Poland* at preſent, which are conſtant States of War or Conſpiracy between their Kings and Nobles; and which Side ſoever gets the better, the others are for the moſt part undone: By doing the ſecond, the Nobles of *Venice* keep up their Equality; and *Holland*, *Switzerland*, and the free States of *Germany* make the Proviſion laſt named, which, as I have ſaid, anſwers in ſome Meaſure the Purpoſes of an *Agrarian* Law; but by waiting for the Diviſion of the Subſtance, other States have been undone, and particularly *Florence* was enſlaved by the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Medici*.

And as great Riches in private Men is dangerous to all States, ſo great and ſudden Poverty produces equal Miſchiefs in free Governments, becauſe it makes thoſe who by their Birth and Station muſt be concerned in the Adminiſtration neceſſitous and deſperate; which will leave them the Means, and give them the Will to deſtroy their Country; for the Political Power will remain ſome Time in their Hands after their Natural Power and Riches are gone, and they will ever make uſe of it to acquire

acquire that Wealth by Violence and Fraud, which they have loſt by Folly and Extravagance; and as both of theſe Extremes are certainly true of ſingle Men, ſo theſe are more dangerous in Numbers of Men joined together in a Political Union; who, as they have more Wealth than any particular Man ever had or can have, ſo they will have the ſeparate Intereſt of every Individual to aſſiſt them, ariſing from the Dependence of Friendſhip, Relation, Acquaintance, or Creatures, without that Emulation and Envy which will always be raiſed by the ſudden and exorbitant Riches of private Men. 'Tis certain, that they both make too violent an Alteration in Property, and almoſt always produce violent Convulſions in Government.

Now Companies bring all theſe Miſchiefs upon us; they give great and ſudden Eſtates to the Managers and Directors, upon the Ruin of Trade in general, and for the moſt part if not always upon Thouſands of Families, who are embarked in the Society itſelf: Thoſe who are in the Direction and the Secret of the Management, beſides all their other Advantages, draw out and divide all their Principal, and what they can borrow upon their Credit; perſwade innocent and unwary People to believe they divide only the Profits of their Trade, and by a thouſand other Artifices heightning their Advantages, draw them in to ſhare in them; and when they have wound up the Cheat to the higheſt Pitch it can go, then like Rats leave a falling Houſe, and Multitudes of People to be cruſhed by it. This was the Caſe of the

Eaſt-

East-India and *African* Companies formerly, whoſe Stock ſold for three hundred *per Cent.* when it was not worth a Groat; and how far it is the Caſe of the preſent *East-India* Company, their Members are concerned to enquire.

What Ruin, Devaſtation and Slaughter of Eſtates! What Publick Miſery, and Deſtruction of Thouſands, I may ſay Millions! have we ſeen by the Eſtabliſhment and wicked Intrigues of the preſent *South-Sea* Company, only to make a few unſhapely and monſtrous Members in the Body Politick? What has that Company done for the Benefit of Trade, which they were eſtabliſhed, forſooth, to promote? They have ſuffered Numbers of our Manufactures to rot in their Ships, hindered private Traders from carrying on an advantageous Commerce to the lower Parts of *America* and the *South-Sea*, and, like the Dog in the Manger, will neither eat themſelves, nor let any one elſe eat; and, 'tis ſaid, by their wiſe Conduct have loſt a Million or Two of the Company's Principal.

The Benefits ariſing by theſe Companies, generally, and almoſt always, fall to the Share of the Stock Jobbers, Brokers, and thoſe who cabal with them, or elſe are the Rewards of Clerks, Thimble-men, and Men of nothing; who neglect their honeſt Induſtry to embark in thoſe Cheats, and ſo either undo themſelves and Familes, or acquire ſudden and great Riches; then turn awkward Stateſmen, corrupt Boroughs, where they have not, nor can have, any natural Intereſts; bring themſelves into the Legiſlature

giſlature with their pedling and jobbing Talents about them, and ſo become Brokers in Politicks as well as Stock, they wanting every Qualification which ought to give them a Place there.

It is a ſtrange and unnatural Tranſition from a Fiſhmonger or Pedlar to a Legiſlator: However, as ſuch doughty Stateſmen, by their ſingle Abilities, can do no Good, ſo they can do but little Harm; but when united in a Body under the Direction of artful Managers combining with great Men, they can turn all Things into Confuſion, and generally do ſo. When Men have great Sums of Money to give, and will give it, they will ever find People to take; and there can be no ſtanding againſt them in a Body, how contemptible ſoever they are in Particulars. How often have the Cries of the whole Kingdom of *England* been able to prevail againſt the Intereſt of the *Eaſt-India* Company? What by proper Applications in former Reigns made to our Courts, to Miniſters and Favourites, and to the Members of each Houſe of Parliament, they have been able to contend and get the better of the Tears and Complaints of the whole Kingdom beſides, and to lay aſleep the true and real Intereſt of thoſe who aſſiſted them; and if ever hereafter our Three great Companies ſhould unite together (as 'tis to be feared they will always do when their Intereſts do not claſh) what Power is there in Being to oppoſe them, that will be able and willing to do it? In *Holland*, which is a more jealous Government than ours, the *Eaſt-India* Company governs the State, and is in Effect the

the State it ſelf; and I pray God we may never ſee the like elſewhere!

What have we been able to do to redreſs the Ravages brought upon us by the *South-Sea* Project? Which yet muſt have produced much greater, if we had not ſuffered theſe. When it was in its Meridian, I have heard ſome Perſons argue the Reaſonableneſs of their having a Monopoly of the Trade of *England*, ſince they were poſſeſſed of moſt of the Property of *England*; and I do not ſee by what Means it could have been prevented. They would have filled the Legiſlature with their own Members, all our great Men muſt have been their Penſioners, and the Crown it ſelf been obliged to have kept Meaſures with them; they would have been the only Shop to have went to for Money, and would not have parted with it but upon their own Terms, and would have been ever lying upon the Catch to purchaſe more Privileges and Advantages; ſo that the Nobility and Gentry of *England* muſt either have embarked their Fortunes and Expectations in this Monopoly, or have been humbly contented to have been governed by a Faction, compoſed for the moſt part of Pedlars, Grocers, and Brokers, or ſuch as lately were ſo; and the Conſtitution itſelf had been gone, and changed into a Stock-jobbing Cabal.

We have ſeen but few Inſtances where the private Traders of *England*, and the Intereſts of General Trade, have been able to diſpute with the Intereſts of little Companies or particular Societies of Tradeſmen, or the peculiar Privileges of Corporations, tho' they are Burthens

thens, and a dead Weight on the Eſtates of every Perſon in Both Houſes, leſſen their Income, and increaſe their Expences; ſuch is the Faſcination and Witchcraft of political Confederacy! What will be the Event of theſe Combinations, no Man can foreſee, and every wiſe Man muſt dread. Indeed, I don't ſee how we can prevent their diſmal Conſequences, but by paying off our Debts; and, by diſſipating thoſe factious Combinations, diſſolve the Enchantment.

After all I have ſaid, I muſt confeſs, that the *Eaſt-India* Company is liable to leſs Objections than any other trading Monopoly, but not for the Reaſons they give, but for a Reaſon which is worth an hundred of theirs; for as all beneficial Trades are moſt ſucceſsfully carried on by free and open Commerce, ſo all loſing ones do leſs Miſchief when monopolized; and as the firſt ought to receive all poſſible Encouragement, ſo the other ought to be put under ſuitable Diſcouragements; and ſince we can have no Proſpect at preſent of that Trade's being put upon an advantageous Foot, the next beſt Thing we can deſire, is to let it go on upon the preſent Eſtabliſhment, which in all Probability will ſoon deſtroy it, and perhaps put it upon a good one, if that can be; for 'tis certain, if it could be carried on with its full Swing, it would eaſe us of every Penny of our Money, and deſtroy every Manufacture in the Kingdom, as well as every Man in it, which in a proper Time may poſſibly be ſhown at large.

In fine, Monopolies are equally dangerous in Trade, in Politicks, and Religion: A free Trade, a free Government, and a free Liberty of Conſcience, are the Rights and the Bleſſings of Mankind. *I am*, &c.

SIR,

IT has been juſtly obſerved of Corporations, or Political Combinations of Men, that they have Bodies but no Souls, nor conſequently Conſciences. What calls this Obſervation to my Mind is an *Addreſs to his Majeſty from the* South-Sea *Company*, which I have lately ſeen in Print, moſt modeſtly requeſting, that in this great Profuſion of Money, general Affluence and Overflowing of Trade, the Nation will give them two Millions; and the Reaſons they give for it are, 1*ſt*, That they want the Money; the next, that they have agreed with the *Bank*; and 3*dly*, That they will do what without doubt is the Intereſt of all their Members, except Directors and Brokers to do; that is, they will conſent that a conſiderable Part of their Stock ſhall be turned into Annuities, (and they had been the wiſer if they had ſaid all, for then no more of it could have been loſt by Management;) and to wind up their whole Oratory, they add a fourth Reaſon, which is, the Benefit the Publick has received already by their Intereſt being reduceable in a few Years to four *per Cent.* which Reduction was Part of their

their original Bargain that was purchaſed for the Seven Millions, of which five has been remitted already, and now it is to be a Conſideration for remitting the other two.

I can never give my ſelf Leave to believe (whatever may be ſurmiſed by others) that any Perſon (employ'd by his Majeſty) in the preſent great Exigencies of the Kingdom, the almoſt univerſal Poverty in the Country, the want of Trading, Stocks and Credit in Cities, and in great as well as little Towns, the prodigious Load of Debt under which the Nation groans, and the general Uneaſineſs conſpicuous in the Faces, and too obſervable in the Diſcourſes of People of all Sects and Denominations; I ſay, I cannot think that under ſuch Circumſtances of Publick Affairs, any Miniſter can countenance ſo wild a Propoſition, as wantonly to deſire us to give away two Millions of the Nations Money, only to bind a Bargain between two Stock-Jobbing Societies; which could not be obtain'd from a late Aſſembly, whom I preſume will not be diſoblig'd if I ſay no more of them.

I muſt therefore believe, if any Perſon in Power has been concern'd in this Negociation, that he has effectually taken Care of the Publick, and has comprehended its Intereſt in the Agreement; and I am the rather induced to believe this, becauſe of an Expreſſion in the Addreſs it ſelf, to wit, *that the Company will be ready to do any Thing for the Publick Service*, &c. with a Caution notwithſtanding, *that it be conſiſtent with the Security of their preſent Fund*: I hope this Sentence has an Alluſion to ſome Pro-

ject intended to be propoſed to buy off the two Millions, and that they deſign to offer to ſink One hundred thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* of their Annuities, which is the Intereſt of two Millions: and this will anſwer all honeſt Purpoſes, will indemnify the Publick, eaſe them of the Difficulty of raiſing ſo great a Sum, and leſſen the Income of particular Members not above ſix or ſeven Shillings *per Cent.* yearly.

It is impoſſible to ſuſpect that thoſe Gentlemen, who for ſome Years together oppos'd wild Schemes and wilder Expences in carrying them on, and who (if they are to be believ'd themſelves) rather choſe to throw up their then Advantages and Expectations, than comply with ſuch Gallantries, ſhould at laſt loſe the Merit of ſo much Virtue, by wantonly and unneceſſarily diſcharging one Company from their Contract, only to prevent another from performing theirs, and this at two Millions Loſs to their Country: Sure *England* is not in a Condition to diſcharge all Reckonings at home and amongſt foreign States too; if ſo, every Man ought to bring in his Bill, and then we ſhall all be upon the Square.

On the contrary, I perſwade my ſelf that the Gentlemen, whoſe Deſerts have now ſet them at the Helm, have during their Retirement from Buſineſs obſerv'd the Miſcarriages of their Predeceſſors, deſign to avoid the Rocks upon which the others have ſplit, and conſequently have put on ſteady Reſolutions to extricate the Kingdom out of its preſent Calamities; and poſſeſs'd with this Opinion, I am determin'd (as I believe many others are) to give them my hearty

hearty Aſſiſtance to attain thoſe good Ends, and to forget paſt Errors, if new ones do not rub up our Memories: I neither envy their Preferments, nor I believe ſhall court them; but ſhall ever eſteem my Services to be overpaid, if I can contribute to ſave my Country.

We all know what a noble Project has been lately authoriz'd, what Ends were deſign'd to be, and have been ſerv'd by it; how many Thouſands were directly ruin'd by it, and vaſtly how many more by the fatal Conſequences which have enſued; but all the Arts of the Projectors could never have ſucceeded, if many well meaning People had not been drawn in to conſent to this Iniquity by the Proſpect of ſeeing the Publick Debts put in a Method of being paid off, which they thought would attone for many Evils that were foreſeen by wiſe Men, who yet did not foreſee the hundredth Part of the Miſchief which has ſince happen'd; and after we had ſuffer'd more than Words can expreſs, the greateſt Part of the Conſideration which drew us into theſe Sufferings has been remitted, I will not ſay by any of thoſe, but, to thoſe, who brought all our Misfortunes upon us; and now the poor Remainder is modeſtly call'd for, and if obtain'd, the wretched People, and amongſt the reſt all who vigorouſly oppos'd this vile Project, muſt bear the Loſs, and the Contrivers of the Wickedneſs muſt carry off the Plunder.

Sure ſuch a Proceeding ſounds very odd, and ought to be ſupported by obvious Reaſons! 'Tis a very ſingular ſort of Generoſity, to puniſh the Innocent, in order to reward the Guilty;

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to fine or tax thoſe who did their utmoſt to oppoſe the Progreſs of Publick Miſchief, to repair the Loſſes of thoſe, who, thro' Guilt, Covetouſneſs or Folly, contributed to it. In great Publick Calamities there muſt be many Sufferers, and ſome who do not deſerve to be ſo, yet I never heard that they call'd for Repriſals upon their Countrymen. Provinces are laid waſte, Cities and Towns burnt in War, and Ships taken by Pyrates, and yet no Bills brought in or Demands made upon the Publick: In Peſtilential Diſtempers, Families are ſhut up in their Houſes, and whole Cities within their Walls, where Thouſands die for want of Food or proper Neceſſaries, and thoſe who are left alive are moſtly undone; and yet no Nations think themſelves oblig'd to make good their Loſſes; in ſuch Caſes every one muſt bear his own Misfortunes, even when they come from the Hand of God, and he himſelf does not contribute to them; and all that wiſe States can do, is to take Care of the Whole, relieve Particulars as far as is conſiſtent with the Publick Safety, and leave the reſt to Providence.

But beſides the ſhrewd Reaſons which are in Print, and are above repeated, let us hear what others are offer'd to load the Publick with this Loſs. Firſt, we are told that the Peoples Repreſentatives have drawn the Subſcribers into it, and therefore the People are bound in Conſcience to repair them: A very notable Way of arguing indeed! and which, if carried to its Extent, would provide admirably well for the Security of Nations. Suppoſe the States of any Country ſhould make a fooliſh Law, or engage

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it in a fooliſh War, by which a third Part of the People are undone, muſt the reſt make them amends, who perhaps are half undone themſelves? The Penſioner-Parliament in King *Charles* the Second's Time, were choſen by the People to act for the common Benefit of the Kingdom, and they betrayed their Principals, and took Money from the Court to act againſt it; and was that a good Reaſon for the next Parliament to give a Sanction to all the Miſchief their Predeceſſors did, or to pay for it? Sure the laſt Parliament were as much the Repreſentatives of the *South-Sea* Company as of the reſt of the Kingdom, and acted as agreeably to their Inclinations and their Deſires, or elſe their Acknowledgments were much miſplaced.

They tell us, that the Publick is better able to bear the Loſs than private Men; which certainly is not true at preſent; for the Publick is much poorer than moſt private Men in *England*, if Regard is had to their Occaſions and their Debts: But if it was ſo, are they therefore to take the ill Bargains of all private Men to themſelves, and protect them in their good ones? Muſt every Man who has ſuffered by playing the Fool, or playing the Knave, call upon the Nation for Repriſals? But ſuppoſing only innocent and unwary People (as all the Members of the preſent *South-Sea* Company undoubtedly are) ought to be Objects of publick Compaſſion; who ſhall make Recompenſe to the Millions of others who have ſuffered in their Eſtates, by the univerſal Confuſion occaſioned by this worthy Project? Who ſhall repair

pair the many Bankrupts, the many Creditors who have loſt their Debts, the many young Ladies who have loſt their Fortunes, the Mechanicks and Shop-keepers who have loſt Buſineſs, ſpent their Stocks, and yet have run in Debt to ſubſiſt their Families; and the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Farmers, who can get little for their Commodities and Products of their Eſtates, Farms, and Trades? And muſt all theſe contribute at laſt out of what remains, to repair the Misfortunes of thoſe who brought all theſe Evils upon them?

But becauſe I would avoid giving Offence to tender Ears, by ſeeming to take too much Part with the inconſiderable Intereſts of Men who are vulgarly called the Mob, I ſhall repreſent the Caſe of Perſons who much better deſerve ſome People's Conſideration; I mean Brokers, Stock-Jobbers, Dealers in Funds, and ſuch who, for many Years together, have ſupported the Government, by making twice or thrice the Advantage of their Money that they could do any where elſe: Who ſhall repair the Loſſes of the Contractors for Stock or Subſcriptions, or of thoſe who lent them Money at Five, Ten, and Twenty *per Cent. per Menſem*, and cannot be paid again? The many Sums loſt in the Hands of Goldſmiths, and by their pretended Subſcriptions of Effects without the Owner's Conſent? Who the Loſſes of thoſe who bought in the *Eaſt-India* Company and the *Bank* at Two or Three Hundred *per Cent.* all occaſioned by this worthy Project, or of thoſe who bought in this Company at Eight or Nine Hundred, and ſold at One or Two?

Two? Who thoſe who bought, or were hindered from ſelling out of the Stocks of all Companies, by that honeſt and ſerviceable Bargain to the Publick made between the *Bank* and the *South-Sea*? Who ſhall pay the Loſſes in the Bubbles, ſome of which were eſtabliſhed or countenanced by Parliament, and others by Patents, all which have equal Right to put in their Claims? And laſtly, who ſhall make Satisfaction to the whole Kingdom, who muſt be reduced by ſuch Means to an Incapacity of paying its Debts, and conſequently of defending itſelf? I have heard of no Project yet for leſſening the publick Expences, or of the Courtiers leſſening their own ſtated Incomes, or occaſional Gains.

And what, after all, are the particular Merits of theſe Gentlemen to whom ſo much Favour is to be ſhewn; and who will receive the Benefit of it? Thoſe who remain of the Original Company have no Pretence to it; and at preſent their Capital, with the Addition they have received by the Diviſion of the fictitious Stock, is more valuable than at firſt; and I believe much more ſo: Thoſe who have bought in ſince the Fall, have as little Pretence to be conſidered, becauſe they knew the Terms upon which they bought: Such as have raiſed Fortunes by dabbling in the Publick, ought not to complain if they have loſt by one Project what they got by another; and thoſe who have great or plentiful Fortunes in other Reſpects, muſt be very immodeſt if they expect to repair their Follies out of the Eſtates of thoſe who are more neceſſitous than themſelves.

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So that the few that can hope for Relief, are the Poor and Helpleſs, who were trapan'd by the reſt to buy in at a great Price, and could not ſell out again before the Fall; and I dare appeal to all Mankind, whether ſuch could get Relief, if their Intereſts were ſeparated from their Oppreſſors: If it is ſo, we have Reaſon to ſing *Te Deum*, for the World is finely mended; but till I can find ſome other Inſtances of this tender Regard to Mercy and Innocence, I muſt beg leave to ſuppoſe that there is already, or is to be, ſome other Conſideration for the remitting theſe Two Millions, if ever they are remitted.

There is another Reaſon left behind, and a ſhrewd one it is; namely, that we muſt ſupport publick Credit, by enabling the *Bank* to ſupport the *South-Sea*, and in Conſequence enabling them both to ſell their Stocks for twice as much as they are worth, (and ſo leave a new Loſs upon other People, who with equal Reaſon muſt be again repaired;) for it is certain, that all or moſt of the Company-Stocks ſell at preſent above their real Value. Now with all due Submiſſion to the Gentlemen of the *Alley*, it ſeems to me to be a very odd Way of ſupporting Credit, to render the Publick incapable of paying its Debts: But it is no new Thing amongſt ſome Sorts of People, to endeavour to ſupport Credit by the Means which deſtroy all Credit. My Head has been ever ſo ill turned, as to think that Nations muſt preſerve the Opinion of their Integrity, by the ſame Rules and Maxims as private Men find neceſſary; that is, always by ſelling good Merchandiſes,

chandiſes, and not ſtuffing their Bales and Casks with counterfeit Wares, and covering them at Top with thoſe which look well: But we have heard of thoſe Times when Moonſhine and Shadows have ſold for Silver and Gold, for Lands and Tenements; and the Wiſdom of States has been employed to keep up the imaginary, fraudulent Value of this Sort of airy Merchandiſe; and when Thouſands and Thouſands of unwary People have been undone by ſuch Purchaſes, new Projects have been formed and countenanced by Authority to undo as many more: I mean, this has been lately done in *France*, whoſe Example ſhould not be followed by any who deſign not to introduce the Government of *France*.

All wiſe and honeſt Governments ought to protect their innocent, induſtrious, and unguarded Subjects, againſt the Snares of Cheats, and Frauds of Pickpockets, and not combine with ſuch Wretches, and be perpetually forming Schemes to ruin Multitudes for the enriching a few, and to proſtitute their Power, and the publick Honour, to patronize and eſtabliſh Combinations of Oppreſſion; and when one Sort of it can be ſupported no longer, to ſet their Wits to work to find out another. It puts me in mind of a Story told of Dr. *Barebone*, who had once drawn an eminent Merchant into a Building Project at *Mile-End*, whereby he loſt many Thouſand Pounds; and when he complained of it, the Doctor promiſed to make him Reparation by letting him ſhare in another which he had juſt begun at the farther End of *Weſtminſter*, whereby he loſt

as much more; and when his Bubble, juſtly provoked, drew his Sword upon the Doctor, and bid him draw too, he, like a true Stoick, with great Calmneſs, and wholly unconcerned, asked, *Whither he would be drawn, for that he had drawn him from one End of the Town to the other already?* Whatever has been done in neighbouring Countries, I am perſwaded we are in no Danger of any ſuch Attempts here.

And now having, as I conceive, fully anſwered the Pretences of the *South-Sea* Company to get the Two Millions remitted to them, which they are pleaſed to call Reaſons; I ſhall offer to them one of my own why they ſhould not deſire it, and that they will be Loſers upon the Whole by it. As I remember, the Price of their Stock rather decreaſed than encreaſed upon the remitting the Five Millions, and it has fallen now upon the Expectation of having the reſt remitted; and the Reaſon is obvious, for nothing can keep up the Credit of publick or private Men, but an Opinion that they are able to pay their Debts, and are willing to do ſo; and no Man in his Wits will believe either, if he does not ſee them endeavour to pay off their old Debts, and avoid all Occaſions of contracting new ones. When a Man owes more than he can pay, he muſt compound with his Creditors, lie in Goal, or run away, unleſs he has Privilege; and then they have nothing left to do for the moſt part, but to ſhake their Ears, rail, and run away too; People muſt be very weak not to know, if ever a Queſtion ſhould ariſe, whether a Nation will be undone, or undo a ſmall Part of it, which

which it will chuſe; and therefore every wiſe Man, whoſe Fortune lies in publick Securities, will think himſelf concern'd to make the Payment of them practicable, and therefore will conſider whether it is not his Intereſt to loſe a ſmall Part of his Income, to ſecure the Whole; and every Man would conſider this over and over, if he did not deſign at all Adventures to ſave one, and leave the Storm to fall upon others: And how well all hitherto have ſucceeded in this honeſt Intention, we have had as many Inſtances as we have had publick Calamities, and lately a very pregnant one, when every Man deſigned to ſell, and no one could do ſo but Managers and Brokers.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I Deſign this Letter for a Diſſertation upon Heroes, who were at firſt a ſort of brave diſintereſted Men, that having more Courage and Proweſs than others, went about doing Good to others, and to all, at their own Expence and Danger. They eſtabliſhed and reformed Communities, and taught them Laws, and puniſhed thoſe who violated Juſtice and Law: They deſtroyed publick Robbers and Monſters, and the greateſt of all publick Robbers and Monſters, Tyrants: and lived the Patterns of Virtue and uſeful Valour. Hence they were called Heroes, a ſort of middle Be-

ings, ſuperior to other Men, and a-kin to the Gods.

But ſo wild is the Nature of Man, and ſo impudent the Nature of Ambition, that whereas the primitive Heroes were the Bulwarks of Society, and the Preſervers of Men, thoſe who pretended to ſucceed them, were the Diſturbers of Society, and the Deſtroyers of Men; and ſuch Tyrants and Monſters as the old Heroes had deſtroyed, did themſelves (impudently) ſet up for Heroes. With the ſame Modeſty, Superſtition, which deſtroys Religion, has, in the greateſt Part of the World, uſurped the Place of Religion; Tyranny, which is the Extirpation of Government, calls itſelf Government: And thus aroſe perſecuting Prieſts and lawleſs Kings. But ſo are Words and the World abuſed; and with ſo much Safety and even Applauſe, is Miſchief committed, when it has got but a good Name.

Alexander deified himſelf, and *Cæſar* was deified by others, for being univerſal Murderers; and *Coke* of *Bury* was hanged for attempting one Murder. Had he been at the Head of a Hundred Thouſand Cut-throats, and murdered a Million, he might have been recorded for a Heroe, and his Name been handed down to After-Ages with Elogiums, and publick Declamations made in the Schools upon his Conduct and Virtues.

Child, the Highwayman, robbed the Mail, and was put to Death; but inſtead of the Mail, had he robbed a Nation (I mean any Nation but this) he might probably have governed it; and inſtead of hanging in Chains, led a whole

whole People in Chains, and been dubb'd an able Stateſman and a faithful Miniſter.

Miſchief is inſeparable from the Profeſſion of a preſent Hero, whoſe Buſineſs and Ambition is to multiply Conqueſts, and conſequently Miſeries, upon thoſe whom they conquer. What a wild and inhumane Spirit! to plague the World, to make a Figure in it; to commit great Villainies, for a good Name; to deſtroy the Peace and Proſperity of Mankind, to gain their Eſteem; and to ſhed their Blood, to ſhew themſelves fit to govern them! For none gain by ſuch Accompliſhments of theirs, but their Soldiers, whoſe Lives too they throw away as wantonly as theſe take away the Lives of others. The chief Gainers therefore are only a few Officers, Servants, and Strumpets, who are about their Perſons, and execute their Luſt and Rage for their own Ends: And ſo to glut a reſtleſs Tyrant and his Inſtruments, Men and Nations muſt be ſlaughtered or enſlaved. This is the Heroiſm, and the Glory of Conquering!

Such is the Difference between the old Original Heroes and theſe their Apes, who by Fraud, Violence, Perjury, and reſtleſs Cruelty, make War upon their Subjects and Neighbours; and by ſacrificing the Virtuous and the Brave, or making them their Inſtruments to ſacrifice others, and by diſtreſſing, exhauſting, plundering, and chaining All, puſh humane Miſery as far as it can go. Theſe are the Wolves and Tygers of humane Race; Imperial Beaſts of Prey, who, if the World would preſerve itſelf, ought to be driven out

of the World, or hung up in it *in Terrorem*; or, like theſe their more innocent Brethren, who only kill for Food, be locked up in Dens, and ſhewn, as they are, for Monſters: Or perhaps it would be ſtill a more equitable Puniſhment, if they could be caught, to ſhut up a Number of them in a Madhouſe with their beloved Arms about them, there to fight and tear one another's Fleſh, and ſpill their own deteſtable Blood, till they had no more to ſpill; and this would be giving a ſort of Satisfaction to Mankind for ſo much human Blood outrageouſly and wantonly ſpilt.

But this is not the only Mock-Heroiſm in the World; there is yet another ſort as miſchievous, but ſtill more ridiculous; and that is, a violent Appetite for War, and Victory, and Conqueſt, without engaging perſonally in the Danger, or coming near it; but being very valorous by Proxy, and fond of Fighting without drawing a Sword. This was the prudent Bravery of a late great Conqueror, who was never tired of War, and yet never tired himſelf in it: In the Heat of a Battle fought for his Glory, he run no Riſque, but ſate ſecurely at a great Diſtance with the wiſe old Woman his Miſtreſs, waiting for Laurels of other People's winning. When his Agents had bought a Town for him treacherouſly, or his Generals ſtolen a Province as treacherouſly, ſtill it was Victory, ſtill fair Conqueſt; and the Glory was his at three hundred Leagues diſtance; for every Thing he did was glorious, the meaneſt and the baſeſt Things; and by theſe Means he be-

became *Immortal*, immortal in Conqueſt without a Scar.

The primitive Heroes ventured their Lives for the Good of others; but theſe Mock-Heroes expoſe others to Danger and Death for the Good of themſelves, and their own perſonal Renown; and all the Time ſtay at home, and wait for Fame in a whole Skin. They ſlaughter Thouſands who obey them, and undo Millions who ought not to obey them; and all to enſlave others, who neither wiſh nor do them any Harm, and with whom they have nothing at all to do. Even moſt of the Inſtruments they make uſe of, are made as miſerable as they make thoſe whom they oppreſs; and few or none ſhare the Benefit of the Plunder, but ſuch as wanting Merit of their own to gain an honeſt Subſiſtence, prey upon the Induſtry of thoſe that do. So ſtrongly does Miſery thrive under their Influence, and nothing elſe!

They keep themſelves poor, ſuſpicious, and in a State of War with their own Subjects, whom they juſtly ſuſpect for their worſt Enemies, becauſe they ſupply them with conſtant Reaſons to be ſo; and therefore they live in a perpetual State of Rapine and Enmity towards them, and in a continued Dread of Violence and Revolts from them; inſtead of giving them fatherly Protection on one Side, and receiving from them dutiful and ſincere Allegiance on the other; and all for the fruitleſs and imaginary Glory of Conqueſt, and of Dominion over their Fellow-Creatures againſt their Will; or, in other Words, of being skilful Pillagers and Oppreſſors, and ſucceſsful Murderers.

It is, however, not to be wondered at, that whilſt ſo many Princes are beſet with Sycophants always ready to applaud at a Venture their wildeſt Sallies and Deſigns; or with Traitors, who finding their own vile Advantages in them, are ever determined to abet and execute them: I ſay, it is not ſtrange that Princes in theſe Circumſtances ſhould run frequently into wild Freaks and pernicious Enterprizes, to the Ruin of themſelves and their Subjects. But it is ſtupendious, that theſe their baneful Inſtruments and worſt Foes ſhould be able in any Inſtance to perſwade Nations to dance after their deſtructive Maggots, and be contented to be undone, to make ſome of the worſt Men amongſt themſelves Rich and Saucy.

What have the People in any Monarchical Government ever gained by the Conqueſts made by their Prince, but to be made Slaves; or if they were Slaves before, worſe Slaves, and to have their Chains rivetted yet faſter? For, beſides that theſe Conqueſts give him a Pretence and an Ability to keep more Troops, and conſequently encreaſe his Power over them; the conquered Nation will find a ſort of a Revenge in joining to reduce their new Maſters to the ſame wretched Condition with themſelves, and perhaps find an Opportunity of conquering the Conquerors. One Nation will be plaid upon another, and neither will be truſted to the Guard of their own Countrymen; but the Soldiers of one Country will be quartered upon the other, and kept at a great Diſtance from home, leſt by conſtant Converſation with their Relations,

Relations, Friends and Neighbours, they ſhould, contrary to their Duty, warp towards the Love and Intereſt of their Country; and indeed in moſt Countries where Troops are kept, they are always removed from Place to Place, to prevent their Friendſhip and Correſpondence with the Natives.

What did *England* gain formerly by their Conqueſts upon the Continent, but Wars, Slaughter, and Poverty to themſelves, and to their Princes precarious foreign Provinces at an *Engliſh* Expence; and had ſtanding Armies been then the Faſhion of the World, *England* would doubtleſs have conquered it ſelf into Slavery. The *Romans*, when they had extended their Conqueſts ſo far and wide, that they were forced to keep Provincial Armies to awe and preſerve the conquered Countries, became a Prey to thoſe Armies; and their Emperors afterwards durſt no longer truſt to *Roman* Troops, but encreaſed their Slavery by the Help of thoſe Nations whom they had conquered, and who became, in their Turns, Maſters of thoſe who had maſter'd them.

When *Alexander* had ventured his own Army of *Macedonians*, and the beſt Men in *Greece*, to ruin *Perſia*, and a great Part of the World, which had given him no Provocation; what Advantages did *Greece* and *Macedon* reap from his mighty Victories and Conqueſts, but to become a little Province of a great barbarous Empire, which by their Arms and Proweſs he conquered, and exhauſted them of all their braveſt Men to preſerve? Their Condition would ſtill have been worſe, if he had left a

Succeſſor behind him to have preſerved his whole Empire entire, who would have made *Perſia*, or ſome other Province the Seat of it, and governed *Greece* at a diſtance by Baſhaws; and as it was, he left it in a State of conſtant War and Depredation, and they were toſt and tumbled from one Oppreſſion to another, till they found a ſort of Relief in being conquered by the *Romans*.

What did the *French* gain by the long Wars and many Conqueſts of their late Great Monarch, but extreme Poverty, ſtreighter Servitude, great Depopulation, and general Bankrupcy? So much did they ſuffer by his Acquiſitions, and ſo dear did they pay for his pernicious Glory!

What did the *Swedes* gain by the Conqueſts of the late King, but to loſe them again, as they got them, at a vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure; and to be reduced to ſuch Weakneſs, as to want the Aſſiſtance of their Neighbours to preſerve them from falling under the Power of a Prince, whom, by conquering him, they taught to conquer them?

And if the conquering Countries are ſuch miſerable Loſers by Conqueſt, what muſt be the doleful Condition of the Conquered, which are conſidered only as the Sources of Plunder, and the profeſſed Objects of Oppreſſion? Almoſt all *Europe* are Witneſſes of the brutiſh Havock the Conquerors make, and of the diſmal Scenes of Ruin they leave behind them. If the late *French* King could have conquered, or bought, or ſurprized the *United Provinces*, (which by all theſe generous Means he endeavoured,

voured) from the richeſt and moſt populous Republick upon Earth, they would have been now a Neſt of beggarly Fiſhermen, and in a lower Condition, if poſſible, than any of the fine *French* Provinces, which had the Honour of being governed by that paternal Prince. Never was ſuch Mockery as for a Prince to publiſh Reaſons to a People, with whom he had nothing to do, why they ſhould be conquered by him; when, let their Condition be as ill at it will, it is an Hundred to One, nay 'tis almoſt certain, that he will make it ten times worſe.

Alas for that Nation whoſe Prince is a Heroe! ſays an excellent and an amiable *French* Writer, who ſaw with Sorrow, the woeful Condition of his own Nation, from the mercileſs and unnatural Affectation of Heroiſm in the then King.

The ſame admirable Author, in another place, gives us a lively Image of Heroes and Conqueſts in theſe Words, which he makes *Telemachus* ſpeak, as he views the Field of Battle filled with Carcaſſes and drenched in Blood: "Such are the heavy Evils that follow Wars! What blind Fury urges unhappy Mortals! So few are the Days they have to live upon this Earth, and ſo miſerable do they make theſe few Days! Why will they run thus headlong into the Jaws of Death, which is of it ſelf making haſty Approaches to devour them? Why add ſo many frightful Deſolations to a ſhort and bitter Life, made ſo by Heaven already? Men are all Brethren, and they tear and butcher one another

" another, more unnaturally fierce and cruel " than the wild Beaſts of the Deſart! Ly- " ons make not War upon Lyons, nor Ty- " gers upon Tygers: They attack only Ani- " mals of a different Species: Man! Man " alone, in ſpight of his Reaſon, does Things " that Creatures without Reaſon would never " do.

" But why theſe conſuming Wars? Is there " not Land enough in the Univerſe to ſatisfy " all Men with more than they can cultivate? " Are there not vaſt Tracts of deſart Lands, " ſo vaſt that Mankind is not ſufficient to fill " them? How then! a falſe Glory, a vain " Title of *Conqueror*, which a Prince is fond " of, kindles a War far and wide; and one " ſingle Man, thrown by Heaven into the " World, in Wrath, ſacrifices brutally ſo many " others to his Vanity! His Glory requires it, " and all muſt periſh before him: Countries " ſwim in Blood, Towns and Cities ſuffer de- " vouring Flames, and what eſcapes from the " Sword and the Fire, Famine, more cruel " than both, muſt conſume; and all that this " Man, who thus ſports himſelf with throwing " all humane Nature into Pangs, may find in " this general Deſtruction his Pleaſure and his " Glory. What monſtrous Glory! Can we " too much deſpiſe, too much abhor theſe " monſtrous Men, who have thus forgot Hu- " manity; without being Men, they ſet up " for Demigods, and earn the Curſes, inſtead " of what they aim at, the Admiration of " Ages to come.

" Oh!

" Oh! with what Tenderneſs ſhould Princes " undertake Wars! That they ought to be " ſtrictly Juſt, is not enough; they muſt be " ſtrictly neceſſary, neceſſary for the Publick " Good. The Blood of the People ought " never to be ſhed but to ſave the People, and " the Occaſion ought to be extream. But flat- " tering Counſels, falſe Ideas of Glory, vain " Jealouſies, boundleſs Rapaciouſneſs under " ſpecious Diſguiſes, and raſh Engagements, " draw almoſt all Princes precipitately or in- " ſenſibly into Wars which prove fatal to them. " In them they hazard all without Neceſſity, " and do as much Miſchief to their Subjects as " to their Enemies."

Thus the divine late Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, from whom I have tranſlated this affecting Paſſage. It is a Book that has Ten Thouſand Excellencies, and ought to be read by all Mankind.

I will conclude with wiſhing, that all Nations would learn the Wiſdom of the prudent *Sancho*, who, when the Hero his Maſter madly attacked the Wind-Mills and the Lyons, ſtood at a ſafe Diſtance and in a whole Skin: If their governing *Don Quixots* will fight right or wrong, let them fight by themſelves, and not ſit at Home and wantonly ſacrifice their People againſt Wind-Mills and Fulling-Mills.

I am, &c.

SIR,

thoſe, who, tho' they had riſen by its Name, were eager to ſuppreſs its Spirit, and had appointed for that worthy End an Inquiſition, new to the Conſtitution, and threatning its Overthrow: An Inquiſition, where Men were uſed as Criminals without a Crime, and charged with Crimes without a Name, and treated in ſome Reſpects, as if they had been guilty of the higheſt.

Parties like and diſlike our Conſtitution, juſt as they are out of Power, or in it: Thoſe who are out of Power like it, becauſe it gives them the beſt Protection againſt thoſe who are in Power; and thoſe who have been in Power, have blamed it, for not giving them Power enough to oppreſs all whom they would oppreſs. No Power cares to be reſtrained, or to have its Hands tied up, tho' it would tie up all Hands but its own. ——Like Sects in Religion, who all abhor Perſecution, and diſclaim its Spirit while it's over them, but fall almoſt all into it when they are uppermoſt. The Papiſts among us make a great Outcry againſt Perſecution and Oppreſſion; becauſe, tho' they are protected in their Lives and Eſtates, their Maſs-Houſes are taken from them, and they are taxed double, tho' they do not pay double: And yet it is moſt certain, that their Religion makes it a Sin to tolerate any other Religion, and obliges its Votaries, on Pain of Damnation, to burn and deſtroy all who will not blindly, and againſt Conſcience, ſubmit to its abſurd and contradictory Opinions, and to its impious and inhumane Spirit.

The Golden Rule prevails little in the World; and no Man ſcarce will bear, if he can

can avoid it, what almoſt all Men will make others bear, if they can. Men who have the Government on their Side, or are in the Government, will never ſee its Exceſſes while they do not feel them; nay, they will be very apt to complain, that the Government wants more Power; and ſome, in thoſe Circumſtances, have ſaid, and called in God Almighty for a Witneſs and a Voucher, that it ought to be irreſiſtible: But when they diſlike the Government, and the Government is jealous of them, their Tone is quickly and entirely changed, and they are loud with the firſt againſt the long Hands of Power, and its Encroachments and Oppreſſions, and often make Faults as well as find them.

In King *Charles* the Second's Reign, at the Tryal of *Mead* and *Penn*, for preaching, (a great Crime in thoſe Days out of a Church!) one of the King's Council declared, That he now ſaw the Wiſdom, Neceſſity, and Equitableneſs of the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, and thought that it would never be well with the Church and Monarchy, till one was eſtabliſhed here; or Words to that Effect. Now, can any one think that this wicked and impudent Man, with all this Malice againſt his Country, would not have hated and dreaded the Inquiſition as much as any other Man, but that he was determined to be of the ſame Side.

I never yet met with one honeſt and reaſonable Man out of Power, who was not heartily againſt all Standing Armies, as threatning and pernicious, and the ready Inſtruments of certain Ruin: And I ſcarce ever met with a Man

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in Power, or even the meaneſt Creature of Power, who was not for defending and keeping them up: So much are the Opinions of Men guided by their Circumſtances! Men, when they are angry with one another, will come into any Meaſures for Revenge, without conſidering that the ſame Power which deſtroys an Enemy, may deſtroy themſelves; and he to whom I lend my Sword to kill my Foe, may with it kill me.

Men are catched, and ruled, and ruined, by a preſent Appetite; and for preſent Gratification, give up even Self-Preſervation. So weak is Reaſon when Paſſion is ſtrong! Moſt of the Inſtruments of Arbitrary Power have been ſacrificed to it as wantonly as they had ſacrificed others; and were juſtly cruſhed under a barbarous *Babel* of their own raiſing. But that has been no Leſſon to others, who have been for complimenting their Prince with a Power which made all Men, and themſelves amongſt the reſt, depend for their Life and Property upon his Breath; for no other Reaſon, than that it made many others depend at the ſame Time upon theirs.

Nothing is more wild, fickle, and giddy, than the Nature of Man; not the Clouds, nor the Winds: We ſwallow greedily to Day what we loathed Yeſterday, and will loath again to Morrow; and would hang at Night thoſe whom we hugged in the Morning. We love Men for being of our Opinion, when we are in the wrong; and hate them afterwards, if they are in the Right. We are enraged at thoſe who will not renounce their Senſe, to follow

follow us in our Anger; and are angry at them for being angry, when we have made them ſo. We boaſt of being guided by our own Sentiments; but will allow no body to be directed by theirs, if theirs thwart ours. We are governed by our own Intereſt, and rail at thoſe that are. We oppoſe thoſe who will not purchaſe our Friendſhip; and when they do, we oppoſe all that oppoſe them. Thoſe who are for us, with Reaſon on their Side, provoke us, if they are not ſo without Reaſon. We commend human Reaſon, and mean only our own Folly. And our Religion, however ridiculous, is always the beſt for all Men, who are in a dangerous Way, if they are not in our abſurd one. If we adhere to our Opinions, and will not alter our Conduct, we cannot forget thoſe who will not join with us; and if they do, we do not forgive them when we change, if they do not change too.

Thus inconſiſtent, fooliſh, and ſhameleſs, is the Nature of Men, ſelfiſh and prone to Error. Methinks thoſe who were once in our Circumſtances and Sentiments, might, at leaſt, forgive us, if when they leave us and their own Principles for a very bad Reaſon, we ſtill adhere to ours for a very good one: But this Piece of plain Equity is not to be expected. Men are ſo partial to themſelves, that almoſt every Man, if he could, would ſet up the Arbitrary Standard of his own Will, and oblige all Men blindly to follow it. The Story of *Procruſtes* is full of excellent Inſtruction, and a lively Emblem of human Nature: That Tyrant had an Iron Bed, which he ſeemed to intend for the Standard

Standard of humane Stature; thoſe who were too long for it, had their Legs chopped off; and thoſe who were too ſhort, had their Bodies extended by a Rack; and both the Long and the Short were made to fit the Tyrant's Bed. What is the Inquiſition, what is Tyranny, and what is any extravagant Power, but *Procruſtes*'s Bed? And who would not be a *Procruſtes*, if he had his Will, in ſome Reſpect or other?

The very Name of *France*, uſed to be an Abomination to the *Whigs*: They hated the Country for the Sake of it's Government; and were eternally upbraiding the *Tories*, with a Fondneſs for that Government. Who would have expected, after all this, that ever the *Whigs*, or any of them, could have ſpoken with Patience, much leſs with Approbation, of the *French* Government? Any the leaſt Hint of this kind was ſhameful and unpardonable in a *Whig*. But there are *Whigs*, who, not content to ſhew their Diſlike and Reſentment of every thing ſaid or done in Behalf of Liberty, and the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, have boldly told People how ſuch Things would be rewarded in *France*: That is to ſay, The Government of *France* is defended by Galleys, Wheels, Racks, and Dragoons, and we want the ſame Methods here; for, if they diſlike ſuch Methods, how come they to mention them? If Men commit Crimes againſt the *Engliſh* Government, there are *Engliſh* Laws to puniſh them; but if they are guilty of no Crime againſt the Laws of *England*, why are they thought worthy of the Arbitrary Puniſhments of *France*, unleſs thoſe, who think they are,

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thirſt after the Arbitrary Power of *France*? Or if they mean not thus, why do they talk thus, and ſhewing Rage without Provocation, ſcatter Words without a Meaning? I know no Sort of *Engliſhmen* worthy of *French* Chains, and *French* Cruelty, but ſuch apoſtate *Engliſhmen* as wiſh for the Power and Opportunity of inflicting them upon their Countrymen, and of governing thoſe by Terrors and Tortures, who deſpiſe weak Capacities, and deteſt vile Meaſures.

And have *Whigs* at laſt the Face to tell us how they rule in *France*? Here is an Inſtance of *Toryiſm*, which every modern *Tory*, of any Senſe, diſclaims and abhors, and which ſome modern *Whigs* have modeſtly avowed, and are therefore become old *Tories*. Thus do Parties chop and change. One Party, by railing with great Juſtice at another, gets into its Place; and loſes it as juſtly, by doing the very Things againſt which it railed.

By theſe Means, and by thus acting every one of them contrary to their Profeſſions, all Parties play the Game into one another's Hands, though far from intending it; and no Party has ever yet found their Account in it, whatever their Leaders may have done: For the moſt part, a Revolution of five or ſix Years ſubjects them to Oppreſſions of their own inventing. Others get into their Seat, and turn their own hard Meaſures upon them; nor can they complain, with a good Grace, that they ſuffer thoſe Evils which they had made others to ſuffer; and their own Conduct having been as bad as that of which they complain, they have

have not ſufficient Reputation to oppoſe the Progreſs of publick Miſchief and Miſcarriages, which perhaps they began.

It is therefore high Time for all Parties to conſider what is beſt for the Whole; and to eſtabliſh ſuch Rules of commutative Juſtice and Indulgence, as may prevent Oppreſſion from any Party. And this can only be done by reſtraining the Hands of Power, and fixing it within certain Bounds as to its Limits and Expence. Under every Power that is exorbitant, Millions muſt ſuffer to aggrandize a few, and Men muſt be ſtrangely partial to themſelves and their own Expectations, if, in the almoſt eternal Changes and Revolutions of Miniſtries, they can hope to continue long to be any Part of thoſe Few.

I am, &c.

SIR,

NO Man, or ſmall Number of Men, can ſupport themſelves in Power upon their own proper Strength, without taking in the Aſſiſtance of a great many others, and they can never have that Aſſiſtance, unleſs they take in their Intereſts too, and the latter can find their own Account in giving it; for Men will laugh at bare Arguments brought to prove that they muſt labour, be robbed of that Labour, and want, that others may be idle, riot, and plunder them. Thoſe Governments therefore, which

which are founded upon Oppreſſion, always find it neceſſary to engage Intereſts enough in their Tyranny to overcome all Oppoſition from thoſe who are tyrannized over, by giving ſeparate and unequal Privileges to the Inſtruments and Accomplices of their Oppreſſion, by letting them ſhare the Advantages of it, by putting Arms in their Hands, and by taking away all the Means of Self-Defence from thoſe who have more Right to uſe them.

But when a Government is founded upon Liberty, and equal Laws, it is ridiculous for thoſe in the Adminiſtration to have any Hopes of preſerving themſelves long there, but by juſt Actions, or the Appearance of juſt Actions; and by letting the People find, or fancy they find their own Happineſs in their Submiſſion. It is certain, People have ſo juſt a Dread of publick Diſturbances, that they will bear a great deal, before they will involve themſelves in Tumults and Wars; and Mankind are ſo prone to Emulation and Ambition, and to purſue their ſeparate Intereſts, that 'tis eaſy to form them into Parties, and to play thoſe Parties in their Turns upon one another; but all Parties will at laſt confer Notes, and find out, that they are made Uſe of only as Cudgels in the Hands of wicked Men, to aſſault each other by Turns, till they are both undone. It is downright Madneſs, to hope long to govern All againſt the Intereſts of All; and ſuch Knight-Errants have Qualifications only to be ſent to *Bedlam*, or to be ſhut up in ſome other Madhouſe.

People

People will for ſome Time be dallied with, and amuſed with falſe Reaſonings, Miſrepreſentations, and Promiſes, wild Expectations, vain Terrors, and imaginary Fears; but all theſe Hopes and Apprehenſions will vaniſh by Degrees, and will produce a quite contrary Effect, and no wiſe Man will think it prudent to provoke a whole People. What could the late King *James* do againſt his whole People? His Miniſters betrayed him, his Family deſerted him, and his Soldiers revolted from him: And 'twas fooliſh to expect any thing elſe; for how could he hope that thoſe who could have no Motive to ſtand by him, beſides their own perſonal Intereſt, and every Motive to oppoſe him ariſing from Conſcience and Honour, would not leave him when that Intereſt changed, and they could ſerve themſelves better by ſerving their Country.

I laugh at the ſtupid Notions of thoſe who think that more is due from them to their Patrons, who are truſted to diſpoſe of Employments for the publick Benefit, than to their Country, for whoſe Sake, and by whoſe Direction, thoſe Employments were firſt inſtituted, out of whoſe Pockets the Profits of them ariſe, and from whoſe Confidence or Credulity their pretended Benefactors derive all their Power to give them. Thoſe who receive them, accept the Gift upon the Terms of the Conſtitution; that is, to execute them faithfully for the publick Good, and not to take the People's Money to deſtroy the People.

What did the whole Power of *Spain* do againſt a few revolted Provinces, when all the People

People were enraged by Oppreſſion? How many Armies were loſt? How many Millions fooliſhly ſquandered, to recover by Force, what a few juſt Conceſſions would have done at once? Her Generals no ſooner took one Town, but two revolted; and they ſometimes loſt ten, without ſtriking a Stroke, for one they gained by the Sword: What by the Mutinies of her own Soldiers, and other common Events, which uſually happen in ſuch Caſes, they twice loſt all together, and were forced to begin their Game a-new; and ſo deſtroyed a mighty Empire, to oppreſs a little Part of it, whoſe Affections might have been regained by doing them but common Juſtice.

'Tis ſenſeleſs, to hope to overcome ſome Sorts of convulſive Diſtempers, by holding the Patient's Hands, and tying him with Ropes, which will only encreaſe the Malady; whereas the ſofteſt Remedies ought to be uſed: Violent Methods may ſtop the Diſtemper for a little Time, but the Cauſe of the Grief remains behind, and will break out again the more furiouſly. What did King *James* get by all his bloody Executions in the *Weſt*, and his manacling us with Chains, and keeping up a Military Force to lock them on, but to frighten his Friends, ſtill more provoke his Enemies, and at laſt unite them all againſt himſelf? And yet, I believe, I may venture to aſſert, that if, inſtead of throwing his Broad-Seal into the *Thames*, and deſerting his People, he had ſuffered his Parliament to ſit, had given up ſome of the Inſtruments of his Tyranny, and had permitted them to have taken a few proper

Precautions to have hindered it for the future, he need not have been a Fugitive through the World.

It is certain, that if King *Charles* had made at firſt, and with a good Grace, but half of thoſe Conceſſions which were extorted from him afterwards, that bloody War, ſo fatal to himſelf and his Family, had been prevented, and the Ambition or Malice of his perſonal Enemies had been ſuppreſſed, or turned to their own Confuſion, and he himſelf might have reigned a happy Prince, with as much Power as he had Right to by the Conſtitution: Whereas, if my Lord *Clarendon* is to be believed, the whole Kingdom, (very few excepted) took part againſt the Court at firſt, and continued to do ſo, till ſome leading Men in the Houſe of Commons diſcovered Intentions to overturn the Monarchy itſelf. And I will add farther, that if ſome Men, I could name, had ſet themſelves at the Head of the Proſecutions againſt the *South-Sea* Directors, and their Directors, Agents, and Accomplices, and had propoſed, or ſhewn an Inclination to have come into effectual Methods to have paid off the publick Debts, and to have leſſened the publick Expences, the Name of a *Jacobite* had been as contemptible as it is now dreadful; and a few Conſtables might poſſibly have ſaved the Charge of a great many Camps.

It is fooliſh therefore to be frightened with Apprehenſions which may be removed at pleaſure: The Way to cure People of their Fears, is not to frighten them farther, but to remove the Cauſes of their Fears. If the Kingdom is diſaffected,

diſaffected, (as its Enemies of all Sorts would make us believe) let enquiry be made into the Motives of that Diſaffection: It cannot be perſonally to his Majeſty, who is a moſt excellent Prince; and his greateſt Opponents neither do nor can object to him thoſe Vices, which too often accompany and are allied to Crowns: Nor is there the leaſt Pretence to accuſe him of any Deſigns of enlarging his Prerogative beyond its due Bounds; but on the contrary it is ſaid, that he was content by the Peerage-Bill to have parted with a conſiderable Branch of it in Favour of his People, whatever Uſe others intended to make of that Conceſſion. It is certain, that when he came to the Crown, he had a large Share in the Affections of his People, and he himſelf has done nothing to make it leſs.

It cannot be to his Title, which is the beſt upon Earth, *viz.* The poſitive Conſent of a Great and Free Nation, and not the preſumptive Conſent of Succeſſion: Beſides, all his Subjects of any Degree have ſworn and ſubſcribed to his Title, and the Ink is yet wet upon their Fingers; nor can any formidable Number of them (whilſt they are governed juſtly and prudently) have any Motives to call in a *Popiſh* Pretender, educated in Principles diametrically oppoſite to their civil and religious Intereſts.

Whence therefore ſhould ſuch Diſaffection ariſe, if there is any ſuch, as I hope there is not? And it appears plainly, that there is not, or that it is not general, by the dutiful Reception his Majeſty met with in all Places through-

out his late Progreſs in the *Weſt*. And the ſame loyal Diſpoſition would appear more and more every Day, if thoſe who have the Honour to be admitted to his more immediate Confidence, would repreſent honeſtly to him, how acceptable his Preſence would always be to his People.

'Tis childiſh to ſay, that a few Flies and Inſects can raiſe a great Duſt; or that as many diſappointed and unpreferr'd Men can ſhake a great Kingdom, with a wiſe Prince at the Head of it, ſupported with ſuch Power and Dependencies. A great Fire cannot be raiſed without Fewel, and the Materials which make it muſt have been combuſtible before. And if this is our Caſe, we ought to ask, How they came to be ſo? And, Who made them inflamable? Who laid the Gunpowder? as well as, Who fired, or intended to fire it? When we have done this, we ought to remove the Cauſes of the Diſtemper, allay the Heat of the Fever by gentle Lenitives, throw in no more fiery Spirits to enflame the Conſtitution, but do all we can to ſoften and cool it.

Every Country in the World will have many Malecontents; ſome through Want and Neceſſity; others through Ambition and Reſtleſneſs of Temper; many from Diſappointments and perſonal Reſentment; and more from the Fear of juſt Puniſhment for Crimes: But all theſe together can never be dangerous to any State, who knows how to ſeparate the People's Reſentments from theirs. Make the former eaſy, and the others are diſarmed at once. When the Cauſes of general Diſcontent

are

are removed, particular Diſcontents will ſignify nothing.

The firſt Care which wiſe Governours will always take is to prevent their Subjects from wanting, and to ſecure to them the Poſſeſſion of their Property, upon which every thing elſe depends. They will raiſe no Taxes but what the People ſhall ſee a Neceſſity for raiſing; and no longer than that Neceſſity continues: And ſuch Taxes ought to be levied cauticuſly, and laid out frugally. No Projects ought to be formed to enrich a few, and to ruin Thouſands: for when Men of Fortunes come to loſe tho'e Fortunes, they will try by all Means to get new ones: and when they cannot do it fairly, they will do it as they are able: and if they cannot do it at all, will throw all Things into Confuſion, to make others as miſerable as themſelves. If People are poor, they will be deſperate, and catch at every Occaſion, and join with every Faction, to make publick Diſturbances, to ſhuffle the Cards a-new, and to make their own Condition better, when they find it cannot be worſe.

Wiſe Stateſmen will ſee all this at a Diſtance; will uſe the beſt Precautions, and moſt prudent Meaſures, to procure general Plenty, encreaſe Trade and Manufactures, and keep the People uſefully employed at Home, inſtead of ſtarving, and prating Sedition in the Streets. They will not be perpetually provoking them with conſtant Injuries, giving them eternal Occaſions and Reaſons for Diſſatisfaction, and then quarrel with them for ſhewing it, and be ſtill encreaſing their Diſcontents, by prepoſterouſly

endeavouring to put a Stop to them by new Shackles, armed Bands, Bribery, and Corruption, and by laying on them freſh Burthens and Impoſitions to maintain ſuch Oppreſſions; and ſo when they have raiſed Reſentment to the higheſt Pitch, vainly hope to ſtop the Tide with their Thumbs. This is what the King of *Spain* did formerly in his *Auſtrian* Provinces, and King *James* II. lately in *England*; but what I hope will never be ſeen here again.

But it will be ſaid, that People will be ſometimes diſſatisfied without any juſt Provocations given to them by their Governours: The Neceſſities of all States will ſometimes ſubject them to greater Taxes, and other ſeeming Oppreſſions, than they can well bear; and then, like ſick Men, they will quarrel with their Phyſicians, their beſt Friends, and their Remedies, and reproach all who have the Direction of their Affairs, as a Countryman once curſed Cardinal *Mazarine*, when his Aſs ſtumbled, and perhaps juſtly, for the Oppreſſions of that Miniſter might have rendered him unable to feed his Aſs, and to keep him in good Heart.

When this happens to be the Caſe, there ought to be double Diligence uſed to prevent any ill Conſequences from ſuch Diſaffection: No War ought to be continued longer than is abſolutely neceſſary to the publick Security, nor any new one to be entered into out of Wantonneſs, Ambition, or, indeed, any other Motive than Self-Defence: No more Money ought to be raiſed than is ſtrictly neceſſary for the People's Protection; and they are to be ſhewn that Neceſſity, and are to ſee, from

Time

Time to Time, the Accounts of what they give, that it is disburſed frugally and honeſtly, and not engroſſed by private Men, laviſhed upon Minions, or ſquandered away in uſeleſs Penſions to Undeſervers; and that the Product of the whole People's Labour and Subſtance, is not ſuffered to be devoured by a few of the worſt of the People. *For*, as it is ſaid elſewhere,

What can be more invidious, than for a Nation, ſtaggering under the Weight and Oppreſſion of its Debts, eaten up with Uſury, and exhauſted with Payments, to have the additional Mortification, to ſee private and worthleſs Men riot in their Calamities, and grow rich whilſt they grow poor; to ſee the Town every Day glittering with new and pompous Equipages, whilſt they are mortgaging and ſelling their Eſtates, without having ſpent them; to ſee blazing Meteors ſuddenly exhaled out of their Lakes, and their Mud, as in Egypt, *warmed into Monſters?* *

I am, &c.

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* *Conſiderations upon the State of the Nation, and of the Civil Liſt.*

SIR,

I Have hitherto directed my Letters to your ſelf; but I deſire you will direct the incloſ'd to the illuſtrious Deputies of the whole People of *England*. Not that I preſume to think my ſelf capable to inform them of their Duty, or that they want ſuch Information, or would accept it from me; but I intend to ſhew my good Wiſhes to my Countrymen, and to prepare them to expect the bleſſed Effects of their diſcreet Choice; not in the leaſt doubting but their worthy Repreſentatives will ſpeak aloud the almoſt unanimous Sentiments of the whole Nation, and by ſo doing, preſerve the Dignity of the Crown, and the Liberty of the People they repreſent.

To the Honourable the Members of the preſent Houſe of Commons.

Gentlemen,

YOU have now the Political Power of all the Commons of *Great-Britain* delegated to you; and as I doubt not but you will make an honeſt Uſe of it, ſo will you have their Natural Power too, at your Command; that is, you will have their Thanks, their Wiſhes, their Prayers, and their Perſons as well as their Purſes, to ſerve your King and Country. This is the greateſt Truſt that can be committed by

Men

Men to one another; and contains in it all that is valuable here on Earth, the Lives, the Properties, the Liberties of your Countrymen, and in a great Measure of all *Europe*, and your own present and eternal Happiness too. This great Trust, Gentlemen, is not committed to you for your own sakes, but for the Protection, Security, and Happiness of those you represent. And you are accountable to your own Consciences, and to the high Tribunal of Heaven, for the just Execution of this great Authority: Not to mention the Applauses and Blessings of Millions of People, which will attend the faithful Discharge of your Duty; and the Detestation, Reproaches and Curses, with their other worse Consequences, which ought to pursue Corruption and Bribery, and which I am sure you will never deserve.

You have, Gentlemen, the purest Religion in the World, to cherish and support; the Interests, Reputation, and Security of the best of Princes, to guard and defend: You have a great and populous Nation, abounding with Men of Understanding, Integrity and Courage, imploring your Assistance; whom you are oblig'd by all the Ties of Gratitude, Justice and Generosity, by all the Laws of God and Man, to protect and preserve: A People loaded with Debts, enervated by War, and in former Reigns plunder'd by Miscreants, and just ready to sink under those Burthens, unless they can receive sudden Help from your healing Hands. Here is a Scene of Glory, an Opportunity put by gracious Heaven into your Hands, to exercise your Virtues, and to obtain a Reputation far above

the tinſel Triumphs of fabulous and imaginary Heroes. Virtuous Men could not ask more of Providence; nor could Providence beſtow more upon mortal Men, than to ſet them at the Head of a corrupted and almoſt undone People, and to give them the Honour of reſtoring their Power, and reforming their Manners. I cannot doubt but theſe ſtrong and forcible Motives, will call up all your Virtue, Generoſity and Publick Spirit; and inſpire you with Reſolutions to aſſiſt our gracious Sovereign in redreſſing all our Grievances, and making us once more a great and happy People. 'Tis in your Power to do ſo, and from your Endeavours we hope and expect it.

Every Man you repreſent, has a Right to apply to, and petition you for Protection and Redreſs, and with Modeſty and Humility to complain of his own or his Country's Sufferings; and by virtue of this undoubted Right, I addreſs to you in my own Behalf, and in the Behalf of Millions of my Fellow Subjects, who, next to God and our gracious Sovereign, are to receive their Preſervation and whole Happineſs from your Breath. Your own perſonal Security too, is nearly link'd and blended with theirs; for you can make no Laws, countenance no Corruptions, or bring or ſuffer any Miſchiefs upon your Country, but what muſt fall upon your ſelves and your Poſterity; and for theſe Reaſons, as well as from your known Principles of Honour and Virtue, I aſſure myſelf you will act for your own and the publick Intereſt.

The moſt notorious Conſpiritors, and chief Inſtruments of Power, who headed that deteſtable

ſtable Parliament that gave up the Liberties of a neighbouring Nation, involv'd themſelves in the general Ruin, and were amongſt the firſt who loſt their Eſtates. Even the Penſionary Parliament, in King *Charles* the IId's Time, ſtopp'd ſhort, and turn'd upon that corrupt Miniſtry, when the laſt Stroke was level'd againſt our Liberties: They well ſaw, that when they ſhould become no longer neceſſary, they would be no more regarded, but be treated as Traytors always are, by thoſe who take Advantage of their Treaſon; for 'tis a ſteady Maxim always with Oppreſſors, to court and gratify the People they enſlave, by ſacrificing the Inſtruments they make uſe of when they can be no longer ſerviceable; a Maxim which diſcharges all Obligations to them, and gives ſome Recompence to their unhappy and undone Subjects, by ſhewing them the grateful Sight of their worſt and moſt implacable Enemies caught in their own Snare.

View, Gentlemen, the diſmal and melancholly Scene before your Eyes: Behold, not above Thirty Years ſince, a powerful Nation engag'd in an expenſive but ſucceſsful War, for Defence of their own Liberties, and of all *Europe*; which might have been equally carried on with leſs Money than is now paid for Intereſt, without leaving us one Penny in Debt; but a Nation in late Reigns almoſt undone by the vile and deſpicable Arts of Stockjobbers, combining with others, from whom we expected Preſervation, and now loaded with numerous Taxes: Their Finances diſcompos'd; their Trade loaded with various and burthenſome Duties,

or manacled with excluſive Companies; and in Debt almoſt ſixty Millions, and by that means (as we have lately experienc'd) unable to contend with ſmall Powers, without every Year encreaſing our Debts and Burthens, and no effectual Method ever yet taken to pay them off, or leſſen them; but always new Methods found out to enhaunce the Account.

Sure, Gentlemen, none of you can hope that neighbouring Nations will ſit ſtill, and not take Advantage of our Weakneſs; and even thoſe Nations for whoſe Sakes we are brought into this forlorn Condition. The Viciſſitude of humane Affairs muſt bring new Wars upon us, tho' none among ourſelves could find their Account in courting them; and how think you, in ſuch a Circumſtance, we ſhall defend our Country? For my own part, I can ſee but one Remedy at hand, and that is a dreadful one, unleſs we take ſpeedy and effectual Methods to leſſen the Publick Expences, to cut off all exorbitant Fees, Penſions and unneceſſary Salaries, encourage Trade, regulate our Finances, and all Defects in the Adminiſtration; and by ſuch Means ſave all which can be ſaved, and apply it to the Diſcharge of the publick Burdens.

I wiſh our Dabblers in Corruption would count their Gains, and ballance their Loſſes with their wicked Advantages. Let them ſet down in one Column their mercenary Gifts, and precarious Dependencies; ſometimes half purchas'd with Money, ſometimes by dividing the Profits with Paraſites, and always with the Lots of their Integrity and Reputation; and on the other Side, let them write down expenſive Contentions

Contentions, and conſtant Attendance in Town to the neglect of their Families and Affairs; and a Manner of Living often unſuitable to their Fortunes, and deſtructive to their Health, and at leaſt one fourth Part of their Eſtates mortgaged, and liable to the diſcharge of the publick Debts; and above all the reſt, the Inſecurity of what remains, which muſt be involv'd in every Species of publick Miſery: And then let them caſt up the Account, and ſee where the Ballance lies. This is not a fictitious and imaginary Computation, like *South-Sea* Stock, but a real and true State of the unhappy Caſe of twenty Dealers in Corruption, for one who has been a Gainer by it; without mentioning the juſt Loſſes which many of them have ſuffer'd by the laſt deteſtable Project.

Conſider too, what a Figure they make in their ſeveral Countries, amongſt their Neighbours, their Acquaintance, their former Friends, and often, even amongſt their own Relations. See how they have been hunted and purſued from Place to Place, with Reproaches and Curſes from every honeſt Man in *England*; how they have been rejected in Counties, and populous and rich Boroughs, and indeed, only hoped for Succeſs any where by the meer Force of Exorbitant Corruption, which has ſwallow'd up a great Part of their unjuſt Extortions. Then let them ſet againſt all theſe Evils a good Conſcience, a clear Reputation, a diſengag'd Eſtate, and being the happy Members of a free, powerful, and ſafe Kingdom; all which was once their Caſe, and might have continu'd ſo, if they had acted with Integrity. Sure it

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is worth no Man's Time to exchange an Eſtate of Inheritance, ſecur'd to him by ſteady and impartial Laws, for a precarious Title to the greateſt Advantages at the Will of any Man whatſoever.

But even theſe corrupt Advantages are no longer to be had upon the ſame Terms: The Bow is ſtretch'd ſo far, that it muſt break if it goes farther: Corruption, like all other Things has its Bounds; and muſt at laſt deſtroy it ſelf, or deſtroy every Thing elſe. We are already almoſt mortgaged from Head to Foot: There is ſcarce any Thing which can be tax'd, that is not tax'd: Our Veins have been open'd and drain'd ſo long, that there is nothing left but our Heart's Blood; and yet every Day new Occaſions ariſe upon us, which muſt be ſupply'd out of exhauſted Channels, or cannot be ſupply'd at all. How think you, Gentlemen, this can be done? What has been rais'd within the Year has not been found ſufficient to defray the Expences of the Year: And will any one amongſt you, in Times of full Peace, conſent to new mortgage the Kingdom to ſupply the current Service? And if you could be prevail'd upon to conſent to it, how long do you believe it can laſt, or that you can find Creditors? And what can be the Conſequence of ſuch Credit? Sure it muſt make the Payment deſperate; and if ever that grows to be the Caſe, what think you will be the Event? Who do you imagine will have the ſweeping of the Stakes? Do you believe thoſe who brought your Misfortunes upon you, will pay the Reckoning at laſt, or ſave themſelves by endeavouring to compleat their

their Wickedneſs? There is no Way, Gentlemen, to prevent all theſe Evils which lour over and threaten you and us, but by preventing or removing the Cauſes of them; and I hope you will think it worthy your beſt Conſiderations, and moſt vigorous Endeavours to do ſo, rather than to ſuffer under, and be undone by them.

By doing this great Service to your Country, you will not only conſult your Reputation, your own Intereſts, and the Intereſts of thoſe you repreſent; but in the moſt effectual Manner will ſerve your Prince, by making him a glorious King over an happy, ſatisfy'd, dutiful and grateful People. A great and rich People can alone make a great King; their diffuſive and accumulative Wealth, is his Wealth, and always at his Command, when employ'd for his true Glory, which is ever their Happineſs and Security; and the Figure he does or can make among foreign States, bears exact Proportion to the Affections he has amongſt his own People: If his People are diſaffected, his Neighbours and his Enemies will deſpiſe him; and the latter will inſult him, if they think his Subjects will not defend him; and therefore, ſince nothing is wanting on his Majeſty's Part to make him belov'd, honour'd, I had almoſt ſaid, ador'd by his People; it lies upon you, Gentlemen, to remove all thoſe Cauſes, which at any Time hereafter, by the Fault of others, may ſully and blemiſh his high Character. It is your Duty and your Intereſt too, to acquaint him with all Miſcarriages in the inferiour Adminiſtration, which you have frequent Opportunities of knowing, and which 'tis next to impoſſible

impoſſible he ſhould otherwiſe know. Princes are ſeated aloft in the upper Regions, and can only view the Whole of Things, but muſt leave the Detail and Execution of them to inferior Agents.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I Know not a more laudable Ambition in any Man, than that of procuring by his Credit with the People, a Place in the Legiſlature; and when it is procur'd this Way, it is a Teſtimony given by his Country to his Uprightneſs, and to his Capacity to ſerve it. This is as high an Honour as an *Engliſhman* can arrive at, and few but *Engliſhmen* can arrive at it; and the Truſt is ſtill as high as the Honour, and increaſes it. The Liberty, the Property, nay the Virtue, Credit, and Religion of his Country, are in his Hands. Can Heaven or Earth afford ſtronger Motives for Diligence, Probity, and Attendance? When the Happineſs or Miſery, the Security or Bankruptcy, the Freedom or Servitude of a Nation, and all the Good or Evil which this Life affords, depends upon his Behaviour, he will find ſufficient Cauſe from Virtue, Tenderneſs, and Duty, to call up all his Care, Induſtry, and Zeal.

But ſo it has often happened in the World, that all the Activity and Attendance, or moſt of it, have been on the wrong Side; and as

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the Evil that is in the World, does infinitely over-ballance the Good, they who pull down, are vaſtly more numerous, as well as more buſy, than they who build up. Vice reigns amongſt Men, while Virtue ſcarce ſubſiſts; and in many Countries the Publick has been as vigorouſly aſſaulted, as it has been ſlowly and faintly defended. Thus it is, that Liberty is almoſt every where loſt: Her Foes are artful, united, and diligent: Her Defenders are few, diſunited, and unactive. And therefore we have ſeen great Nations, free, happy, and in love with their own Condition, firſt made Slaves by a handful of Traytors, and then kept ſo by a handful of Soldiers: I mean a handful in Compariſon of the People, but ſtill enough to keep them in Chains

So that in moſt Nations, for want of this particular Zeal in every Man for his Country, in which all Men are comprized, the Publick, which is every Man's Buſineſs, becomes almoſt any Man's Prey. It was thus under the firſt Triumvirate, when *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, and *Cæſar*, three Citizens of *Rome*, were, by the Aſſiſtance of *Roman* Armies, ſharing out the *Roman* World among themſelves: Nay, they procured the Authority of the Senate and the Sanction of the People, for this monſtrous Three-headed Tyranny over Senate and People; and procured it by Means that will always procure it: Some they bought, others they terrified, and all they deceived, corrupted, and oppreſſed. The Tribunes of the People, who were the People's Repreſentatives, and ſhould have been their Protectors, they bribed;

and

and the People were betray'd and ſold by their Tribunes.

Such is the Misfortune of Mankind, and ſo uncertain is the Condition of humane Affairs, that the very Power given for Protection, contains in it a ſufficient Power to deſtroy, and ſo readily does Government ſlide, and often ſtart into Oppreſſion! And only by watching and reſtraining Power, is this monſtrous and dreadful Tranſition prevented. For this good Purpoſe, we have Parliaments, to whom our Miniſters are accountable, and by whom the Adminiſtration is ſupported, and its Limits and Power fixed. And to our having Parliaments, it is owing that we are not groaning under the ſame vile Vaſſalage with the Nations round about us: They had once their Parliaments as well as we, but in the Room of Parliaments, their Governours have ſubſtituted Armies, and conſequently formed a Military Government, without calling it ſo; but whatever it is called, that Government is certainly and neceſſarily a Military Government, where the Army is the ſtrongeſt Power in the Country: And it is eternally true, that a Free Parliament and a Standing Army, are abſolutely incompatible, and can never ſubſiſt together.

By Parliaments therefore Liberty is preſerved, and whoever has the Honour to ſit in thoſe Aſſemblies, accepts of a moſt ſacred and important Truſt; to the Diſcharge of which, all his Vigilance, all his Application, all his Virtue, and all his Faculties, are neceſſary; and he is bound by all the Conſiderations that can affect a worthy Mind, and by all the Ties that can

can bind a humane Soul, to attend faithfully and carefully upon this great and comprehenſive Duty: A Duty, which, as it is honeſtly or faithleſly executed, determines the Fate of Millions, and brings Proſperity or Miſery upon Nations.

Whatever has happened in former Reigns, we have Reaſon to hope, that no Men come now into Parliament with an execrable Intention to carry to Market a Country which has truſted them with its All; and it would be ridiculous to throw away Reaſon upon ſuch Banditti, and publick Enemies to humane Society. Such Men would be worſe than *Cannibals*, who only eat their Enemies to ſatisfy their Hunger, and do not ſell and betray into Servitude their own Countrymen, who truſt them with the Protection of their Property and Perſons: But as I have heard that ſome Men formerly, to whom this important Truſt has been committed, have been treacherous enough, through Negligence, to ſacrifice their Duty to Lazineſs or Pleaſure, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew the Deformity of ſuch Conduct.

The Name of a Member of Parliament, has a great and reſpectful Sound, and his Situation is attended with many Privileges, and an eminent Figure! All which make Men ambitious of acquiring a Seat there, tho' I am told, ſome of them have ſcarce ever appear'd there. The Glory and Terror of the Name was enough for them; which Glory they tarniſhed, and converted into their Crime and their Shame, by neglecting the Duty which was

was annexed to it, and alone produced it. Small and ridiculous muſt be the Glory of that General, who never attends the Duties of War, and is always abſent upon the Day of Battle; or of a Miniſter, who, while he ſhould be making Diſpatches, or concerting Schemes for the Publick, is waſting his Time at Ombre, at Cheſs, or with a Miſtreſs.

It would ſcarce be believed, if it had not been felt, that the Inſenſibility of Men as to all that is Good and Honourable, ſhould go ſo far as to carry the Directors and Guardians of the Publick to a Cock Match, a Race, or a drunken Bout, when a Queſtion has been upon the Stage, which has concerned the very Being of the Publick. This Paſſion for Pleaſure, is ſtrangely prepoſterous upon ſuch Occaſions, and to follow it is cruel; cruel and diſloyal to our Country, and even to our ſelves: All our Happineſs, and conſequently all our reaſonable Pleaſures, are contained in the General Happineſs; and when that is gone, or leſſened through our Neglect, we need not be ſurprized, but may thank our ſelves, if in the publick Misfortunes and Curſe we find our own.

When a pernicious Queſtion has been carried, it is a poor Apology, to alledge, and had better be left unalledged, that *I was not there*. Why were you not there? Was it not your Duty to be there? And were you not bound by the ſolemn and awful Truſt you undertook, to have been there? Had you been there, perhaps it would not have been carried, perhaps not attempted; or if both, you would have acquited your own Soul, and had the honourable

nourable Teſtimony of your Country, and of a good Conſcience.

Every Body knows, that in the Penſionary Parliaments, in *Charles* the Second's Time, the Seſſion was almoſt always drawn out into a tedious Length, on purpoſe to tire the Members, and drive them all out of Town, except the truſty Creatures of the Court, who were in Parliament with no other View than to make a Penny of their betrayed Principles, and to pick the Publick Purſe, for the Promiſe of going Shares with thoſe who ſet them on. Were not the abſent Members anſwerable, in a great Degree, for the Treachery of theſe ſtaunch and patient Parricides, by leaving them an Opportunity to commit it, when they knew they would commit it? When a Man leaves his Wife with a known Raviſher, and his Money in the Hands of a noted Thief, he may blame himſelf if he ſuffers Loſs and Diſhonour.

Members of Parliament are ſet in a high Place, as Publick Stewards and Guards (the beſt and only ſure Guards that a free Country can have) to watch for the Publick Welfare, to ſettle the Publick Expences, and to defend Publick and Private Property from the unclean and ravenous Hands of Harpies; and they are obliged by every Motive that can oblige, to adhere to their Station and Truſt: When the major Part neglect or deſert it, who knows but in Times to come, there may be always enough remaining to give it up, and be remaining for that very End? He who does not prevent Evil when he may, does in effect commit it, by leaving others to do ſo, who he cannot be ſure will not do it.

I have heard that ſome of theſe Truants from Parliament have boaſted that they never voted wrong: But how often have they been out of the way, when they ſhould have voted right, and oppoſed voting wrong? And is not this Omiſſion of voting well, the next Crime to voting ill? And where it is habitual, is it not worſe than even now and then voting ill? He who commits but two Murders, is leſs guilty, as to the Community, than he who permits twenty which he might have hinder'd; and he who robs ten thouſand Pounds from the Publick, is a more innocent Man, than he who ſuffers it to be robbed of an hundred thouſand: Or if he who does not prevent a great Evil, is leſs guilty in his own Eyes than he who actually commits a leſs; the Publick, which feels the Difference between Ten and Twenty, muſt judge far otherwiſe, and conſider him as the more pernicious Criminal of the two, as they who are Traytors within the Law are the moſt dangerous Traytors of all.

How ridiculous is it to take a great deal of Pains, and to ſpend a great deal of Money to come into Parliament, and afterwards come ſeldom or never there, but keep others out, who would perhaps give conſtant Attendance? It is fooliſh to alledge, that the Adverſary is ſo ſtrong, that your Attendance will be uſeleſs; for it has rarely happened, that any dreadful Miſchief has been carried in a full Houſe, or indeed attempted; but Opportunities have always been taken from the Abſence of the Country-Members: Beſides, how often has it happened, that one extravagant Attempt has given

given a ſteady Majority to the other Side? The Penſionary-Parliament it ſelf, in *Charles* the Second's Time, turned upon that corrupt Court: King *James*'s firſt Loyal and Paſſive Obedience Parliament did the ſame, when he declared for Governing by Armies; and in King *William*'s Time, the Anti-Court Party, who for many Years together could ſcarce ever divide above Eighty or Ninety, yet grew ſo very conſiderable, upon the Attempt for a Standing Army, that the Court, for ſeveral Years after, could not boaſt of a much greater Number of Followers; and tho' I confeſs this produced many real Miſchiefs to the Publick, yet the Courtiers had no one to blame but themſelves for it. How abſurd is it for Men to bring themſelves into ſuch a Dilemma, as either to ſubmit to certain Ruin, or, in ſome Inſtances, to hazard their Lives and Eſtates to get rid of it, by an unequal Struggle; when both may be eaſily prevented, by doing what they have promiſed to do, and what is their Duty, and ought to be their Pleaſure to do, and what may be done without further Expence, than making an honeſt Uſe of two Monoſyllables?

The Notions of Honour generally entertained, are ſtrangely wild, unjuſt, and abſurd. A Man that would die rather than pick a private Pocket, will, without bluſhing, pick the Pockets of a Million: And he who would venture his Life to defend a Friend, or the Reputation of an Harlot who has none, will not loſe a Dinner, or a merry Meeting, to maintain the Wealth and Honour of his Country;

Country. There have been Gentlemen of this Sort of Honour, who really wiſhed well to the Publick Interest, rather than attend to a Debate of the greateſt Conſequence to the Publick, with infinite Punctualneſs meet a Company of Sharpers, to throw away their Eſtates at Seven or Eleven. So much ſtronger is pernicious Cuſtom than publick Virtue and eternal Reaſon, which alone ought to create and govern Cuſtom; and ſo much to the publick Shame and Misfortune are ſuch wicked Cuſtoms, from the Influence of which, even wiſe Men are not entirely exempted! So weak and wild a Thing is the Nature of Man!

It is obſerv'd of *Cato* the younger, that *he always came firſt to the Senate, and left it laſt. Pompey* and his Faction, finding that he would never be perſwaded, nor frighten'd into their execrable Deſigns againſt their Country, contriv'd a thouſand treacherous Devices to keep him out of the Way: But he ſaw their ill Arts, and diſappointed them. He ſaid he enter'd upon the Buſineſs of the State, as the Buſineſs of every honeſt Man that he conſider'd the Publick as the proper Object of his Care, Zeal and Attendance, and not as a Bank for his own private Wealth, or a Source of perſonal Honours; that it was a hideous Reproach for Men who are guided by Reaſon, and by it ſuperior to all other Creatures, to take leſs Care of the Society to which they belong, than ſuch Inſects as Bees and Ants take of their Hives and common Stores: that he would never prefer private Intereſt or Pleaſure to that of the publick, and that none of thoſe Conſiderations ſhould ever

with-hold

with-hold him from attending faithfully the Senate.

Here is a virtuous and and illuſtrious Example, which I would leave upon the Minds of my Readers, and particularly recommend to thoſe who may moſt want it. When *Cæſar* had by all manner of wicked Ways, by Violence, by Fraud, and by Bribery, procur'd the Government of *Gaul* and *Illyricum* for five Years, with an Army of four Legions, with which he afterwards enſlav'd *Rome* itſelf; *Cato* could not reproach his own Heart, that he had been abſent when that fatal Law paſs'd: He oppos'd it with all his Zeal and Eloquence, and with the Hazard of his Life, and told thoſe who made it, what they afterwards ſadly felt, that *They were placing an arm'd Tyrant in their Citadel.*

Conſider for God's Sake, Gentlemen, the Extent and Sacredneſs of your Truſt: Your Country and Conſtitution are in your Hands: One unjuſt, one raſh Law, may overturn both at once, and you with them, and cancel all Law and all Property for ever; and one good and wiſe Law may ſecure them to your late Poſterity. Can it be indifferent to you, whether the one or the other of theſe Laws paſſes? And if it is not indifferent, will you avoid attending? Be but as aſſiduous againſt Evil as others have often been for it, and you have a fair Chance to prevent it for Ages. Why ſhould not Honour, Virtue and good Conſcience, be as active and zealous as Falſhood, Corruption and guilty Minds? Conſider the Injuſtice, the Barbarity, the Treachery, and the terrible Conſequences of Sloath and Abſence. Liberty, when once

loſt, is ſcarce ever recover'd, almoſt as rarely as humane Life, when it is once extinguiſh'd.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I Intend in this, and my next Letter, to write a Diſſertation upon Libels, which are Liberties aſſumed by private Men, to judge of and cenſure the Actions of their Superiors, or ſuch as have Poſſeſſion of Power and Dignities. When Perſons, formerly of no Superior Merit to the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects, came to be poſſeſs'd of Advantages, by Means which, for the moſt part, they condemned in another Situation of Fortune, they often have grown, upon a ſudden, to think themſelves a different Species of Mankind; they took it into their Heads to call themſelves the Government, and thought others had nothing to do but to ſit ſtill, act as they bid them, and follow their Motions; were unwilling to be interrupted in the Progreſs of their Ambition, and of making their private Fortunes by ſuch Ways as they could beſt and ſooneſt make them; and conſequently have call'd every Oppoſition to their wild and ravenous Schemes, and every Attempt to preſerve the People's Right, by the odious Names of Sedition and Faction, and charged them with Principles and Practices inconſiſtent with the Safety of all Government.

This

This Liberty has been approved or condemned by all Men, and all Parties, in proportion as they were advantaged, or annoy'd by it: When they were in Power, they were unwilling to have their Actions ſcann'd and cenſur'd, and cry'd out, that ſuch Licence ought not to be borne and tolerated in any well-conſtituted Commonwealth; and when they ſuffer'd under the Weight of Power, they thought it very hard not to have been allowed the Liberty to utter their Groans, and to alleviate their Pain, by venting ſome part of it in Complaints; and it is certain, there are Benefits and Miſchiefs on both Sides the Queſtion.

What are uſually call'd Libels, undoubtedly keep great Men in Awe, and are ſome Check upon their Behaviour, by ſhewing them the Deformity of their Actions, as well as warning other People to be upon their Guard againſt Oppreſſion; and if there was no further Harm in them, than in perſonally attacking thoſe who too often deſerve it, I think the Advantages ſuch Perſons receive, will fully attone for the Miſchiefs they ſuffer. But I confeſs, that Libels may ſometimes, though very rarely foment popular and perhaps cauſeleſs Diſcontents, blaſt and obſtruct the beſt Meaſures, and now and then promote Inſurrections and Rebellions; but theſe latter Miſchiefs are much ſeldomer produced than the former Benefits; for Power has ſo many Advantages, ſo many Gifts and Allurements to bribe thoſe who bow to it, and ſo many Terrors to frighten thoſe who oppoſe it; beſides the conſtant Reverence and Superſtition ever paid to Greatneſs, Splen-

But another Method has been thought on, in theſe Weſtern Parts of the World, much leſs effectual, and yet more miſchievous than the former, namely, to put the Preſs under the Direction of the prevailing Party, and authorize Libels on one Side only, and deny the other Side the Opportunity of defending themſelves. Whilſt all Opinions are equally indulged, and all Parties equally allow'd to ſpeak their Minds, the Truth will come out; and even, if they are all reſtrain'd, common Senſe will often get the better; but to give one Side Liberty to ſay what they will, and not ſuffer the other to ſay any Thing, even in their own Defence, is comprehenſive of all the Evils that any Nation can groan under; and muſt ſoon extinguiſh every Seed of Religion, Liberty, Vertue or Knowledge.

It is rediculous to argue from the Abuſe of a Thing, to the Deſtruction of it. Great Miſchiefs have happen'd to Nations from their Kings, and their Magiſtrates; ought therefore all Kings and Magiſtrates to be extinguiſh'd? A thouſand Enthuſiaſtick Sects have pretended to deduce themſelves from the Scripture; ought therefore the Holy Writings to be deſtroy'd? AreMen's Hands to be cut off becauſe they may and ſometimes do, ſteal and Murder with them? Or their Tongues to be pull'd out, becauſe they may tell Lyes, Swear, or talk Sedition?

There is ſcarce a Virtue but borders upon a Vice, and, carried beyond a certain Degree, becomes one. Corruption is the next State to Perfection: Courage ſoon grows into Raſhneſs; Generoſity into Extravagancy; Frugality into

Avarice; Juſtice into Severity; Religion into Superſtition; Zeal into Bigotry and Cenſoriouſneſs; and the Deſire of Eſteem, into Vainglory. Nor is there a Convenience or Advantage to be propos'd in humane Affairs, but has ſome Inconvenience attending it. The moſt flaming State of Health is neareſt to a Plethory: There can be no Protection, without hazarding Oppreſſion; no going to Sea, without ſome Danger of being drown'd; no engaging in the moſt neceſſary Battle, without venturing the Loſs of it, or being killed; nor purchaſing an Eſtate, going to Law, or taking Phyſick, without hazarding ill Titles, ſpending your Money, and perhaps loſing your Suit, or being poiſon'd. Since therefore every Good is, for the moſt part, if not always accompany'd by ſome Evil, and cannot be ſeparated from it, we are to conſider which does predominate, and accordingly determine our Choice by taking both or leaving both.

To apply this to Libels: If Men are ſuffer'd to preach or reaſon publickly and freely upon certain Subjects, as for Inſtance, upon Philoſophy, Religion or Government, they may reaſon wrongly, irreligiouſly, or ſeditiouſly, and ſometimes will do ſo; and by ſuch Means may poſſibly now and then pervert and Miſlead an ignorant and unwary Perſon; and if they are ſuffer'd to write their Thoughts, the Miſchief may be ſtill more diffuſive; but if they are not permitted by any, or all theſe Ways, to communicate their Opinions and Improvements to one another, the World muſt ſoon be overrun with Barbariſm, Superſtition, Injuſtice, Tyranny,

Tyranny, and the moſt ſtupid Ignorance. They will know nothing of the Nature of Government beyond a ſervile Submiſſion to Power, nor of Religion, more than a blind Adherence to unintelligible Speculations, and a furious and implacable Animoſity to all whoſe Mouths are not form'd to the ſame Sounds; nor will they have the Liberty or Means to ſearch Nature, and inveſtigate her Works; which Employment may break in upon receiv'd and gainful Opinions, and diſcover hidden and darling Secrets. Particular Societies ſhall be eſtabliſh'd and endow'd to teach them backwards, and to ſhare in their Plunder: which Societies by Degrees, from the want of Oppoſition, ſhall grow as ignorant as themſelves: Arm'd Bands ſhall rivet their Chains, and their haughty Governors aſſume to be Gods, and be treated as ſuch in Proportion, as they ceaſe to have humane Compaſſion, Knowledge and Virtue. In ſhort, their Capacities will not be beyond the Beaſts of the Field, and their Condition worſe; which is univerſally true in thoſe Governments where they lie under thoſe Reſtraints.

On the other Side, what Miſchief is done by Libels to ballance all theſe Evils? They ſeldom or never annoy an innocent Man, or promote any conſiderable Error. Wiſe and honeſt Men laugh at them, and deſpiſe them, and ſuch Arrows always fly over their Heads, or fall at their Feet. If King *James* had acted according to his Coronation Oath, and kept to the Law, *Lilly-Burlero* might have been tun'd long enough before he had been ſung out of

his Kingdoms. And if there had been no *South-Sea* Scheme, or if it had been juſtly executed, there had been no Libels upon that Head, or very harmleſs ones. Moſt of the World take Part with a virtuous Man, and puniſh Calumny by their Deteſtation of it. The beſt Way to prevent Libels, is not to deſerve them, and to deſpiſe them, and then they always loſe their Force; for certain Experience ſhews us that the more Notice is taken of them, the more they are publiſh'd. Guilty Men alone fear them, or are hurt by them, whoſe Actions will not bear Examination, and therefore muſt not be examin'd. 'Tis Fact alone which annoys them; for if you will tell no Truth, I dare ſay you may have their Leave to tell as many Lyes as you pleaſe.

The ſame is true in Speculative Opinions. You may write Nonſenſe and Folly as long as you think fit, and no one complains of it but the Bookſeller: But if a bold, honeſt, and wiſe Book ſallies forth, and attacks thoſe who think themſelves ſecure in their Trenches, then their Camp is in Danger, and they call out all Hands to Arms, and their Enemy is to be deſtroy'd by Fire, Sword, or Fraud. But 'tis ſenſeleſs to think that any Truth can ſuffer by being thoroughly ſearch'd, or examin'd into; or that the Diſcovery of it can prejudice right Religion, equal Government, or the Happineſs of Society in any Reſpect: She has ſo many Advantages above Error, that ſhe wants only to be ſhewn to gain Admiration and Eſteem; and we ſee every Day that ſhe breaks the Bonds of Tyranny and Fraud, and ſhines through the Miſts of Superſtition

Superſtition and Ignorance: and what then would we do, if theſe Barriers were remov'd, and her Fetters taken off?

Notwithſtanding, I would not be underſtood by what I have ſaid, to argue that Men ſhould have an uncontroll'd Liberty to calumniate their Superiors, or one another; Decency, good Manners, and the Peace of Society, forbid it: But I would not deſtroy this Liberty by Methods which will inevitably deſtroy all Liberty. We have very good Laws to puniſh any Abuſes of this Kind already, and I will approve them, whilſt they are prudently and honeſtly executed, which I really believe they have for the moſt part been ſince the Revolution: But as it cannot be deny'd, that they have been formerly made the Tales of Ambition and Tyranny, to oppreſs any Man who durſt aſſert the Laws of his Country, or the true Chriſtian Religion; ſo I hope the Gentlemen skill'd in the Profeſſion of the Law will forgive me, if I entrench a little upon their Province, and endeavour to fix ſtated Bounds for the Interpretation and Execution of them; which ſhall be the Subject of my next Letter.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I Have been told, That in ſome former Reigns, when the Attorney-General took it in his Head to make innocent or doubtful Expreſſions criminal by the Help of forced Innuendo's, the Method of proceeding was as follows: If the Counſel of the Priſoner inſiſted, that the Words carried no ſeditious Meaning, but might and ought to be underſtood in reaſonable Senſe; he was anſwered, That his Exception would be ſaved to him upon Arreſt of Judgment; in the mean time, the Information was try'd, and the malign Intention of the Words was aggravated and left to a willing Jury; and then, upon a Motion in Behalf of the Priſoner to arreſt Judgment, becauſe the Words were not criminal in Law, he was told, the Jury were Judges of the Intention; and having found it an ill one, it was too late to take the Exception. Whether this was ever the Truth, I have not lived long enough to affirm from my own Knowledge; or whether this Method of proceeding is Law now, I have not Skill enough in that Science to determine: But I think I may juſtly ſay, if it is Law, it is worth the Conſideration of our Legiſlature whether it ought to continue ſo.

It is certain that there is no Middle in Nature, between judging by fixed and ſteady Rules, and judging according to Diſcretion, which is another

another Word for Fancy, Avarice, Reſentment, or Ambition, when ſupported by Power, or freed from Fear. And I have ſaid in my former Letter, that as there can be no Convenience but has an Inconvenience attending it, ſo both theſe Methods of judging are liable to Objections. There is a conſtant War between the Legiſlature and the Pleader, and no Law was ever enacted with ſo much Circumſpection, but Flaws were found out afterwards in it, and it did not anſwer all the Purpoſes intended by the Law-makers; nor can any poſitive Law be framed with ſo much Contrivance, but artful Men will ſlip out of it, and particularly in relation to Libels. There are ſo many Equivoques in Language, ſo many Sneers in Expreſſion, which naturally carry one Meaning and yet may intend another, that it is impoſſible by any fixed and ſtated Rules, to determine the Intention, and puniſh all who deſerve to be puniſhed. But to get rid of this Inconvenience at the Expence of giving any Man or Number of Men a diſcretionary Power to judge another's Intentions to be criminal, when his Words do not plainly denote them to be ſo, is ſubverting all Liberty, and ſubjecting every Man to the Caprices and arbitrary and wild Will of thoſe in Power. A Text in Scripture cannot be quoted without being ſaid to reflect upon thoſe who break it; nor the Ten Commandments read, without abuſing all Princes and Great Men, who often act againſt them all.

Therefore I muſt beg Leave to think, that it is a ſtrange Aſſertion, which, as I have heard,

has

has been advanced by Lawyers in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, (*viz*) That it is an Abſurdity to affirm, that a Judge and Jury are the only Perſons in *England* who are not to underſtand an Author's Meaning; which, I think, may be true in many Inſtances when they act judicially, and the Words he uſes, candidly conſtrued, do not import that Meaning. *Tiberius* put many Senators to Death for looking melancholly and diſſatisfied, or enviouſly at his Power; and *Nero* many others, for not laughing at his Play, or laughing in the wrong Place, or ſneering inſtead of laughing, and very probably both judged rightly of their Intentions; but ſure No-body will think amongſt us, that ſuch Examples ought to be copied. A Man by not pulling off his Hat, or not low enough; by a Turn upon his Heel; by a frowning Countenance, or an over-pleaſant one, may induce his Spectators to believe that he intends a Diſreſpect to one to whom it is criminal to own it; and yet it would be a ſtrange Act of Power to puniſh him for this Unobſervance. So Words may be certainly choſen with ſuch Art, or Want of it, that they may naturally carry a Compliment, and perhaps may mean it; and yet other People, by knowing that the Perſon intended does not deſerve one, may think him abuſed. And if this Way of judging may be indulged in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the Lord have Mercy upon Poets, and the Writers of Dedications, and of the Epitaphs too upon Great Men. Surely it is of leſs Conſequence to Mankind, that a witty Author ſhould now and then eſcape unpuniſhed, than that all Men

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ſhould hold their Tongues, or not learn to write, or ceaſe writing.

I do agree, when the natural and genuine Meaning and Purport of Words and Expreſſions in libellous Writings do carry a criminal Intention, that the Writer ought not to eſcape Puniſhment by a Subterfuge and Evaſion, or by a ſly Interpretation hid in a Corner, and intended only for a Court of Juſtice, nor by annexing new Names to known Things, or by uſing Circumlocutions inſtead of ſingle Sounds or Expreſſions; for Words are only arbitrary Signs of Ideas; and if any Man will coin new Words to old Ideas, or annex new Ideas to old Words, and let his Meaning be fully underſtood, without doubt he is anſwerable for it. But when Words uſed in their true and proper Senſe, and underſtood in their literal and natural Meaning, import nothing that is criminal; then to ſtrain their genuine Signification to make them intend Sedition, (which poſſibly the Author might intend too) is ſuch a Stretch of Diſcretionary Power, as muſt ſubvert all the Principles of free Government, and overturn every Species of Liberty. I do own, that without ſuch a Power ſome Men may eſcape Cenſure who deſerve Cenſure, but with it no Man can be ſafe, and it is certain, few Men or States will be aggrieved by this Indulgence, but ſuch as deſerve much worſe Uſage.

It is a Maxim of Politicks in deſpotick Governments, That Twenty innocent Men ought to be puniſhed, rather than One guilty Man eſcape; but the Reverſe of this is true in free States, in the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice: For ſince

ſince no Law can be invented which can give Power enough to their Magiſtrates to reach every Criminal, without giving them, by the Abuſe of the ſame Law, a Power to punish Innocence and Virtue, the greater Evil ought to be avoided: And therefore, when an innocent or criminal Senſe can be put upon Words or Actions, the Meaning of which is not fully determined by other Words or Actions, the moſt beneficent Conſtruction ought to be made in Favour of the Perſon accuſed; and the Cauſe of Liberty, and the Good of the Whole, ought to prevail, and to get the better of the juſt Reſentment otherwiſe due to the Impertinence of a factious Scribbler, or the impotent Malice of a turbulent Babbler.

This Truth every Man acknowledges when it becomes his own Caſe, or the Caſe of his Friends or Party; and almoſt every Man complains of it when he ſuffers by it: So great is the Difference of Mens having Power in their Hands or upon their Shoulders. But at preſent, I think, no Party amongſt us can find their Account either in ſuppreſſing, or in the Reſtraint of the Preſs, or in being very ſevere in their Animadverſion upon the Liberties taken by it. The Independent *Whigs* think all Liberty depends upon Freedom of Speech, and Freedom of Writing, within the Bounds of Manners and Diſcretion, as conceiving that there is often no other Way left to be heard by their Superiors, nor to apprize their Countrymen of Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt their Safety; which they think ought to be done boldly, though in reſpect to Authority, as modeſtly

deſtly as can be conſiſtent with the making themſelves underſtood; and ſuch amongſt them as have lately quitted their Independence, think themſelves obliged to handle a Subject tenderly, upon which they have exerted themſelves very ſtrenuouſly in another Circumſtance of Fortune.

Very many of the *Tories*, who may be at preſent ranked amongſt the former ſort of Men, and who every Day ſee more and more the Advantages of Liberty, and forget their former Prejudices, will not be contented hereafter to receive their Religion and Politicks from an ignorant Licenſer, under the Direction of thoſe who have often neither Religion nor Politicks: And even the *Jacobites* themſelves are ſo charm'd with their own doughty Performances, that they would not loſe the Pleaſure of ſcolding at, or abuſing thoſe whom they cannot hurt. Many of our ſpiritual Guides will not be deprived of doing Honour to themſelves, and Advantage to their Flocks, from informing the World what they ought to believe by their particular Syſtems; and the Diſſenting Preachers are willing to keep their own Flocks, and would not have the Reaſonableneſs of their Separation judged of alone by thoſe who differ from them, and have an Intereſt in ſuppreſſing them. And I believe all our World would be willing to have ſome other News beſides what they find in the *Gazette*; and I hope that I may venture to ſay, that there is no Number of Men amongſt us ſo very popular, as by their ſingle Credit and Authority to get the better of all theſe Intereſts.

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But beſides the Reaſons I have already given, there is another left behind, which is worth them all, *viz.* That all the Methods hitherto taken to prevent real Libels have proved ineffectual; and probably any Method which can be taken, will only prevent the World from being informed of what they ought to know, and will increaſe the others. The ſubjecting the Preſs to the Regulation and Inſpection of any Men whatſoever, can only hinder the Publication of ſuch Books as Authors are willing to own, and are ready to defend; but can never reſtrain ſuch as they apprehend to be criminal, which always come out by ſtealth. There is no hindring Printers from having Preſſes, unleſs all Printing is forbid, and ſcarce then: And dangerous and forbidden Libels are more effectually diſperſed, enquired after, and do more Miſchief, than Libels openly publiſhed; which generally raiſe Indignation againſt the Author and his Party. 'Tis certain, that there were more publiſhed in King *Charles* II. and King *James*'s Times, when they were ſeverely puniſhed, and the Preſs was reſtrained, than have ever been ſince. The Beginning of *Auguſtus*'s Reign ſwarmed with Libels, and continued to do ſo, whilſt Informers were encouraged; but when that Prince deſpiſed them, they loſt their Force, and ſoon after died. And I dare ſay, when the Governours of any Country give no Occaſion to juſt Reflections upon their ill Conduct, they have nothing to fear from Calumny and Falſhood.

Whilſt *Tiberius*, in the Beginning of his Reign, would preſerve the Appearance of governing.

verning the *Romans* worthily, he anſwered a Paraſite, who informed him in the Senate of Libels publiſhed againſt his Perſon and Authority, in theſe Words, *Si quidem locutus aliter fuerit, dabo operam ut rationem factorum meorum dictorumque reddam, ſi perſeveraverit, invicem eum odero*: "If any Man reflects upon my Words "or Actions, I will let him know my Motives "and Reaſons for them; but if he ſtill goes "on to aſperſe and hate me, I will hate him "again." But afterwards, when that Emperor became a bloody Tyrant, Words, Silence, and even Looks were capital.

I am, &c.

SIR,

THE firſt reaſonable Deſire which Men have, is to be in eaſy Circumſtances, and as free from Pain and Dangers as humane Condition will permit; and then all their Views and Actions are directed to acquire Homage and Reſpect from others; and, indeed, in a larger Senſe, the latter are included in the former. Different Ways are taken to attain this End; Arts, Arms, Learning, Power, but moſt of all, Riches are ſought after; and when juſt and proper Means are uſed to acquire them, the Purſuit is reaſonable, and always to be commended. But when they are gained by Injuſtice, the End is fruſtrated for which alone they are valuable; that is, the Reſpect

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is loſt which they are intended to procure: For who does not value an honeſt Man in moderate Circumſtances, before another grown rich by Oppreſſion? Who does not eſteem a ſteady Patriot, who deſpiſes Threats, Bribes, and Dignities, when they ſtand between him and his Duty to his Country, before an overgrown Plunderer, who has ſacrificed a Nation to his Ambition? Men will indeed bow down in the Houſe of *Rimnon*, but they deteſt the Idol in their Heart. It is all falſe Homage. Such Men are adored publickly, and curſed privately; and moſt of thoſe who ſeem to adore them, would with much more Pleaſure follow them to the Scaffold.

How many have we ſeen in our Days, who are thought to have died Martyrs to their Pride and Coveroufneſs, hooted with the Reproaches and Deteſtation of every honeſt Man in *England*, and, I doubt not, with the private Curſes of many of their own Followers? And how many are there in all Countries, who are never ſeen or ſpoken of but with Contempt and Indignation, even in the midſt of Greatneſs.

What is there in this World worth being a Knave for, eſpecially a Man's being ſo, who already enjoys all the Conveniences of Life? Who would loſe the juſt Applauſe of honeſt Men, wiſe Men, and free Men, for the ſervile Incenſe of Flatterers? How much more preferable is it, to make Millions of People happy, and receive the grateful Acknowledgments of *a thankful* Nation, than to purchaſe their *Hatred and* Reſentments, by making them ab-

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ject, poor, and miſerable, and themſelves and their Families ſo too in conſequence? And what is all this for? To create falſe Dependents, who flatter them, in order to cheat them, or otherwiſe make their Advantages of them, inſtead of ſteady and true Friends: For a certain Degree of Familiarity is neceſſary to Friendſhip, or free Converſation; without which no Converſation is agreeable, or worth having. Few Men take Pleaſure in the Company of thoſe who are much their Superiors, who always ſtrike them with Awe, and moſt commonly with Emulation; and what is got amongſt them is generally ſpent amongſt Equals.

I have ſeen many ſupple and bowing Gueſts at the Table of a Great Man, whom, for his Vanity, he treated magnificently, and at a great Expence; none of which he would have kept Company with in any other Place, nor perhaps they with him. Men of Virtue and Underſtanding are conſcious of their own Worth: They will be ſought after, and can be brought rarely to contribute to the Pride, Grandeur, and Oſtentation of thoſe they privately hate, fear, or contemn: And therefore, the latter, in their own Defence, are obliged to aſſociate with the moſt worthleſs Part of Mankind, with Flatterers and Parafites, Hunters of good Tables, Sharpers, and Pickpockets; which are the uſual Attendents and Ornaments of their Greatneſs. Their domeſtick Followers are generally made up of inſolent and debauched Beggars, who fancy themſelves to be Gentlemen; and as they cheat their Maſters to

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be ſo, ſo depending upon their Protection, they inſult his Neighbours, ride over the Country People, and are perpetually annoying the peaceable and induſtrious Farmers and Labourers, and giving Examples of Prodigality and Lewdneſs; inſomuch that an Eſtate is ſome Years Purchaſe leſs valuable that lies within the Influence of ſuch malignant Conſtellations.

Their Sons are educated in Idleneſs, Debauchery, and Ignorance: taught to believe, that Greatneſs conſiſts in Pride, Inſolence, and Extravagance; and ſo, for the moſt part, want every Qualification proper to adorn their Characters, ſerve their Prince or Country, or to direct their own Conduct, govern their Families, or manage their own Eſtates; which generally become the Property of their Stewards, Bailiffs, or debauched Followers, whilſt they themſelves often pay large Intereſt to them for their own Money, run in Debt to Tradeſmen and Mechanicks for the common Conveniences of Life, whom they either pay not at all, or pay treble Values to; till at laſt their Neceſſities make them ſubmit to a paltry Penſion; and, inſtead of being the generous Aſſertors of publick Liberty, they become the mean and humble Inſtruments of Power.

Their Daughters partake of this happy Education; they are bred up to be above looking to their own Families, or to know any Thing of their own Affairs; and, indeed, it is become a Qualification now, to be good for no one Thing in the World, but to dance, dreſs, play upon the Guitar, to prate in a Viſiting-Room,

Room, or to play amongſt Sharpers at Cards and Dice: And when they can't be exerciſing theſe laudable Accompliſhments, they are always in Vapours and the Spleen: And ſo they can get no Husbands, or ruin thoſe who are indiſcreet enough to marry them. The Neceſſities of their Parents ariſing from their Profuſion in all other Reſpects, will not afford Fortunes great enough to marry them to their own Quality, who run into the City for Grocers and Mercers Daughters, to repair their ſhatter'd Affairs, and generally uſe them as ſuch. For all private Gentlemen (whoſe Alliance is worth courting) are ever afraid of her Ladyſhip, and think themſelves not worthy of ſo much Honour, very few Inſtances excepted of vain and inconſiderate young Gallants, who are caught with outſide Shew and Pageantry, and drawn in to make great Settlements, and repent it all their Lives after.

I do not ſay this is always the Caſe: For Virtue and good Senſe is not confined to any Order of Men or Women; and without doubt there are excellent Men and Ladies amongſt the Quality. But I appeal to general Experience, whether what I have ſaid is not moſt commonly the real Truth. And who dares to be ſo ſanguine, as to hope it will not be the Caſe of his own Poſterity, if ſomething is not done to mend the preſent Education of Youth; which never can be done, without mending that which muſt mend every thing elſe. For thoſe who have an Intereſt in keeping the Nobility and Gentry ignorant, debauched, and extravagant, and conſequently neceſſitous and depen-

dependent, will never voluntarily endeavour to leſſen their own Power and Influence.

This is indeed a melancholy, but true Scene of modern Greatneſs. And is this a Condition to be envy'd or courted by any who have plentiful (tho' not great and exorbitant) Fortunes? who have all the Means of enjoying private Happineſs, and of educating their Children in Virtue, Knowledge, and publick Principles, and can make a modeſt Proviſion for them after their Deaths, and, by leaving them Examples of Frugality, and prudent Oeconomy, enable them to abound in the true Neceſſaries and Conveniences of Life; which the others (like *Tantalus*) want in the midſt of Profuſion?

Nature is eaſily contented, and with few Things. The moſt luxurious Palate may be gratified by what a moderate Circumſtance can afford. Thoſe who have the moſt magnificent Palaces, chuſe to live in the leaſt and meaneſt Apartments of them; and ſuch as have the richeſt and moſt expenſive Cloaths, and other perſonal Ornaments, wear the worſt when by themſelves; ſo that all the reſt are only Pride and Oſtentation, and often procure Emulation and Ill-will from Neighbours and Acquaintance, but ſeldom true and real Reſpect. However, ſince the Mind of Man, like every thing elſe in Nature, is in conſtant Progreſſion, and in perpetual Purſuit of one Thing or other, I do not condemn the moderate Purſuit of Wealth, if we do not buy it too dear, and at the Price of our Health or Integrity; for Riches in a wiſe Man's Hands are certainly conducive to

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Happineſs, tho' they are more often the Cauſes of Miſery to others.

Men, for the moſt part, are not ſo ſolicitous to acquire them for the real Pleaſure they give, and to ſatiate perſonal Appetites, as in Compliance with the Cuſtom of the World. We ſeldom examine our ſelves, but enquire of others, whether we are happy or not; and provided we can make thoſe whom we don't value, and who do not value us, envy and admire our Felicity, are contented to know we have none. Such is the Force of Prejudice, flowing from fooliſh Vanity, Pride, or Cuſtom. True Happineſs reſides alone in the Mind, and whoever hunts after it elſewhere will never find it. All the Hurry and Tumults of Faction, moſt of the eager Purſuits after Vice under the Name of Pleaſure, and the vain and noiſy Chaſes of Ambition, are but ſo many Diſguiſes to cover internal Uneaſineſs, and Stratagems to fly from our ſelves; but *hæret Lateri lethalis Arundo*: The Deer is ſtruck, and wherever he flys, he muſt carry his Griefs about him.

Nothing can fill the Mind of a truly Great Man, but the Love of God, of Virtue, and of his Country. All other Pleaſures ought to be but Amuſements, and ſubſervient to theſe, and very often turn to Misfortunes; but here is an inexhauſtible Source of inward Satisfaction, which is the only true Happineſs, and which wicked Men never feel; and conſequently they are the moſt unhappy of all Men.

I am, &c.

SIR,

IN Free States, where publick Affairs are tranſacted in popular Aſſemblies, Eloquence is always of great Uſe and Eſteem; and, next to Money and an armed Force, is the only Way of being conſiderable in theſe Aſſemblies. This Talent therefore has been ever cultivated and admired in Commonwealths, where Men were dealt with by Reaſon and Perſuaſion, and at Liberty to ratify or reject Propoſitions offered, and Meaſures taken by their Magiſtrates, and to examine their Conduct, and to reward them with Honours or Puniſhments, as they deſerved. But in ſingle Monarchies, where Reaſon is turned into Command, and Remonſtrances and Debating, into ſervile Submiſſion, Eloquence is either loſt, or perverted to ſanctify publick Violence, and to deify the Authors of it.

In the free States of *Greece* and *Rome*, this popular Eloquence was of ſuch Force and Conſequence, that the beſt Speakers generally governed them; and their greateſt Orators were often not only their chief Magiſtrates, but their principal Commanders. Rhetorick was the firſt and great Study, becauſe the firſt and great Offices of the State were the ſure Price of Rhetorick. By it *Cicero* came to be the firſt Man in *Rome*, and *Pericles* the firſt Man in *Athens*. *Themiſtocles*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*,

Phon, and *Alcibiades*, could ſpeak as well as they could fight; and ſo could *Sylla*, *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *M. Anthony*, and many more, who were not only great Orators, as well as great Soldiers, but for the moſt part, owed their Military Power to their powerful Speaking: Not that Eloquence is neceſſary to a Soldier, no more than Skill in War to a civil Officer: But both were neceſſary Parts, and indeed the principal Parts of the *Roman* Education; and the Candidates for Preferments were either good Speakers, or ſupported by ſuch. *Pompey*, tho' he principally derived his Fame and Credit from Military Glory, had been far from neglecting the other Accompliſhments of the Gown and the Bar. We have the Teſtimony of *Cicero*, that he was a graceful and engaging Speaker: His great Employments, and many Wars, had with-held him long from the Exerciſe of Declaiming, and his eminent Authority in the State had made it for ſome Time unneceſſary: But he reſumed it with great Application in the latter Years of his Life; when *Curio*, a young Tribune of vaſt Spirit and Eloquence, being gained by an immenſe Sum of Money to the Intereſt of *Cæſar*, was by publick and perpetual Haranges miſleading the People into his Party. *Cicero* continued this Exerciſe till near his Death, and *Marc Anthony* and *Auguſtus* in the midſt of their Wars.

The chief Power of that State being in the People, and all the great Offices in their Gift, made Eloquence a neceſſary Qualification in every one who courted their Favour, and

ſought their Suffrages. And a Candidate thus qualify'd, rarely miſſed gaining them, till Money, more prevailing than Eloquence, and every other Accompliſhment, corrupted their Hearts, aboliſhed their Integrity, and, finding their Souls and their Voices ſaleable, made them firſt the Market, and then the Slaves of Ambition. But in the Times of their Purity, and before their Virtue was vanquiſhed by irreſiſtible Gold, which has been ever an Overmatch for the Probity of the Sons of Men, it muſt be owned to their Honour, that in almoſt all the Queſtions and Debates in the *Roman* State, the juſteſt Side was the ſtrongeſt; and he who ſpoke beſt, that is, with moſt Reaſon and Truth, had the moſt Voices. Such was the Equity and good Senſe of the *Roman* People! Even in the Days of their Degeneracy, they gave many Proofs, that it was with Shame and Pain they had departed from their ancient Integrity and publick Spirit: They continued to prefer many worthy Citizens merely for their Worth: They carried *Cicero* particularly thro' all the conſiderable Offices of the State, only becauſe he deſerved them. *Cato* they created their Tribune, in ſpite of Violence and Oppoſition, and would have choſen him *Prætor*, when he firſt ſtood for it, notwithſtanding the Influence and Bribery of the Faction of the firſt Triumvirate, had they not been cheated and terrified by a religious Lye of *Pompey*'s, who by it broke up the Aſſembly. *Cato* was however choſen next Year; and by the uſual Power of his Eloquence and Credit with the People, fruſtrated many of the pernicious Deſigns of the Trium-

Triumvirate againſt his Country, and conſequently prevented, for a Time, many publick Miſchiefs, as he foretold them all.

The Credit of Eloquence amongſt the *Greeks* was at leaſt equally high, and its Force as viſible. However, in *Greece* it ſelf it was differently eſteemed and practiſed according to the Difference of the Forms of Government in the ſeveral *Greek* Cities. In *Sparta*, where little Riches were to be acquired, and the acting Power of the State was chiefly in the Senate, the Faculty of Haranguing was leſs ſtudied, in proportion to the ſmaller Power of the People, who had only a negative Vote, and the bare Right of confirming or refuting the Laws propoſed to them, and none to debate about them, nor to explain them, much leſs to offer new Laws. Their Laws therefore, and their publick Deliberations, being carried, as far as regarded the People, without popular Speeches and Cabals, that City was no proper Scene for popular Speakers; and, doubtleſs, it was the moſt perfect and beſt eſtabliſhed State then in the World; but not being formed for Conqueſt, nor indeed for Trade, or Increaſe of People, it was undone by an Endeavour to enlarge it.

At *Athens* it was far otherwiſe: The Multitude, the unrepreſented Multitude, being the Legiſlature, governed all Things, and were themſelves governed by their Orators; who therefore ſwarmed in that City, and filled all the great Offices in it, as they always will do in ſuch a State. They would never ſuffer any Thing to remain fixed and quiet; but, to make themſelves conſiderable, were for ever ſtarting

new Projects, new Treaties, and new Wars; which, at laſt, ruined the State, as I ſhall ſhew in another Letter. *Ariſtotle* finds juſt Fault with their Demagogues, who were making them continually drunk with Torrents of Inflammatory Eloquence. There wanted a proper Power to check and ballance that of the People; the Court of *Areopagus* being only a Court of Juſtice, and its Credit and Authority broken by *Ephialtis* and *Pericles*, two of the chief Orators, who hated to ſee any Authority in *Athens* but their own.

As Eloquence it ſelf is neceſſary, or checked, or quite diſcouraged in different Forms of Government; ſo the Manner of Eloquence muſt vary, even where it is uſeful, according to the various Claſſes of Men to whom it is addreſſed. There is a conſiderable Difference between the Speeches ſpoken by *Cicero* in the Senate, and thoſe which he ſpoke to the People. In an Aſſembly of Gentlemen, he who ſpeaks with Brevity and Clearneſs, and ſtrong Senſe, ſpeaks beſt. The chief Court is to be paid to the Underſtanding; and Silence is better than a Rote of good Words, that carry with them no Conviction. I do not deny, but in the moſt polite Aſſembly, the Manner of Speaking, the Voice, and the Choice of Words, will conſiderably recommend the Speech and the Speaker: But it is equally true, that a Theatrical Action, and an Oſtentation of Language, prejudice both, as they break in upon Propriety; and, inſtead of adorning good Senſe, diſguiſe it with Shew and Sound.

But

But in Speeches to Aſſemblies of the People, much greater Latitude is allowed; and Vehemence of Tone and Action, a Hurry and Pomp of Words, ſtrong Figures, Tours of Fancy, ardent Expreſſion, and throwing Fire into their Imaginations, have always been reckoned proper Ways to gain their Aſſent and Affections. I think *Valerius Maximus* ſays of *Pericles*, that whenever he ſpoke to the People, he always left a Sting in their Souls: And hence, *ſine armis Tyrannidem geſſit*, he was a Tyrant without an Army. *Demoſthenes* gave many Proofs of the ſame dictatorial Force of Speaking, not only at *Athens*, but all over *Greece*; which, in ſpite of all King *Philip*'s Arts, and Power, and Ambaſſadors, and Bribes, he worked up into a general Inſurrection and Confederacy againſt him. The *Thebans*, particularly, tho' terrified by *Philip*'s Name and Conqueſts, and dreading to riſque again the Calamities of War which they had lately felt, no ſooner heard *Demoſthenes*, but they were ſubdued by the Dint of his Words; and loſing all Terror of the *Macedonians*, run headlong into the War. "He inflamed their Minds, ſays the "Hiſtorian, with a Paſſion for Glory and Li"berty, and covered all their wary Conſidera"tions in the magical Miſt of his Eloquence; "ſo that inſpired by it, like Men poſſeſſed, "they took ſudden, bold, and honourable Re"ſolutions."

The Subſtance and reaſoning Part of this potent Speech might have been comprized in a few plain and ſhort Propoſitions, more proper than a copious Harangue for a cool Council of

wiſe Men, taught by Experience to weigh every Step they took, and to examine the Soundneſs of the Senſe diveſted of deceitful Words: But ſuch a ſummary dry Repreſentation of the Orator's Meaning, would probably not have moved a fifth Part of his Auditory; or had the Oration it ſelf been read by a Clerk, or uttered by one of our Pleaders in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in an unaffecting Tone, and with an unanimated Geſture, I doubt, it would have had the ſame or no effect. But it was an Oration, and an Oration pronounced by an Orator, with all the Lightning of Figures, and Thunder of Expreſſion: He poured forth Perſuaſion like a Torrent; and in his Voice, when he cried to War, they heard the Sound of a Trumpet.

By what I have ſaid of our own Pleaders, I mean no ſort of Reflection upon the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, or upon their Manner of Speaking, which I think is the only proper Manner for our Bar; where the Rules of proceeding being ſtrict, and aſcertained, there is no room for haranguing. The Judge is tied to the rigid Letter of the Law, and not to be moved from it by Pity or Reſentment; and therefore an Addreſs to his Paſſions would be ridiculous and offenſive. In a Speech to an Aſſembly that acts by Diſcretion, or to an abſolute Prince who has Life and Death in his Hands, it is the Buſineſs of the Speaker, by flattering Inſinuations, to ſteal into the Affections of his Judges, and by a Hurricane of Tropes and impetuous Words, to animate their Paſſions in his Behalf: But a Speech of this ſort would be waſte Language in *Weſtminſter-Hall*,

and

and the Author of it would be thought fit for *Moorfields*, where the Imagination has more Scope. At our Bar many excellent Pleaders have been very bad Orators; and ſome good Speakers, very bad Pleaders. To know Law, and to ſpeak to the Point, is the only Rhetorick approved, or indeed allowed there; and therefore the Jokes which witty Men have made upon the cold and plain Manner of Speaking there, return upon the Makers.

In the Pulpit there is much more Latitude for Oratory, and the Preacher has the Affections and Imaginations of his Hearers much more in his Power; and by diſtracting them with Terrors, or elevating them with Joys, may awaken and enkindle their Paſſions almoſt as much as he will. He has a vaſt Field, and full Scope for Decorations, fine Phraſes, lively Deſcriptions, and all the pompous Array of Language; and if he has a fine tuneable Voice, and his Audience a good Ear, I know no Wonders which he may not work. But as the plaineſt Sermons have generally the beſt Senſe and moſt Piety in them, I am almoſt amazed that the very fine figurative ones do no more harm.

If we enquire into the Uſe and Purpoſes of Eloquence, and into the Good and Evil which it has done, we muſt diſtinguiſh between Eloquence and Eloquence: That which conſiſts of good Senſe, put into good Words, is every where uſeful and commendable: But as to that which conſiſts of fine Figures and beautiful Sounds, artfully and warmly applied to the Paſſions, and may diſguiſe and baniſh Senſe, embelliſh Falſhood as well as Truth, and re-

commend Vice as well as Virtue; it has done ſome Good, and infinite Miſchief. It is the Art of flattering and deceiving, as one of the Ancients calls it: It fills the Mind with falſe Ideas; and by raiſing a Tempeſt in the Heart, miſleads the Judgment: It confounds Good and Evil, by throwing falſe Colours over them, and deceives Men with their own Approbation: And it has in many Inſtances unſettled all good Order, and thrown flouriſhing States into Pangs and Deſolation.

But tho' Rhetorick, in this Senſe, be but a bad Art, yet I do not think it poſſible to deſtroy it, without deſtroying with it moſt other good Arts; for it almoſt always flouriſhes and decays with them: And wherever Politeneſs, Liberty, and Learning ſubſiſt, Rhetorick will be cultivated as part of them. It is an Evil growing out of much Good; and nothing but the aboliſhing of all Liberty and Learning can abſolutely cure it. In this Cure the *Turks* have ſucceeded beſt; and they who would be like them in this, muſt be like them in all Things. Beſides, as the ſeveral States of *Europe* are now conſtituted, they do not ſeem to have much, or any thing, to apprehend from the Power of Rhetorick, except that which comes from the Popiſh Eccleſiaſticks, who in the midſt of Monarchies form a Democracy every where; and every Village has one or many popular Orators, who have but too ſucceſsful a Talent at turning the Heads of the Multitude, and inflaming their Hearts; a Misfortune, which has coſt many Countries very dear: Inſomuch that Preaching Monks have been reckoned Publick Plagues;

Plagues; as it would be, no doubt, a ſort of a publick Bleſſing, if they were all alike idle and dumb. Even the *Lutheran* Monks at *Hamburgh* are every Day preaching that free City into Strife and Confuſion; and will at laſt, if they are not better controuled, preach it out of its Liberty, as more than once they have already well-nigh done.

I *am*, &c.

SIR,

IF we now enquire how Eloquence operates upon the Minds of Men, we muſt conſider Three Things or Cauſes: The Senſe, the Sound, and the Action. The firſt is addreſs'd to the Underſtanding; and the other two to the Paſſions, and have conſequently the greateſt Force.

Nothing is too hard for Sound, which ſubdues every thing, and raiſes the higheſt and moſt oppoſite Perturbations. One Sound lulls Men to ſleep; another rouzes them from it: One Sort ſets them a Fighting, another to Embracing; and a third ſets them a Weeping: It makes them groan or rage; it melts them into Compaſſion, or animates them to Reſentment. And as to Action, in which I alſo comprehend the Motions of the Countenance, and of the Eyes, it is of ſuch Force, that *Demoſthenes* being asked, which was the firſt Excellency of an Orator? anſwered, *Action*; that

the ſecond was *Action*; and the third was *Action*. Here is the Teſtimony of a great and experienced Judge.

Now the Power of Action ſeems to ariſe chiefly from hence: As it is a Sign that the Speaker is in earneſt, and vehemently means what he ſpeaks, it begets an Opinion, that what he ſays is juſt, and reaſonable, and important: And ſo his Hearers adopt his Paſſions and Opinions, and are equally animated with him who animates them, and often more. Hence it is poſſible for a Man, who thus carries his Spirit in his Geſtures, and his Meaning in his Face, to look another into his Sentiments and out of his Senſes, only by ſhewing, in the Energy of his Countenance, that he himſelf is ſtrongly affected with that Paſſion which he would convey to another, and that his external Motions are but the Reſult of his internal. Men have been converted into *Quakeriſm* at the Silent-Meetings of *Quakers*; and ſolemn Looks, dumb Shew, and ghoſtly Groans, have had all the moſt prevailing Effects of Eloquence.

Nothing is ſo catching and communicative as the Paſſions. The Caſt of an angry or a pleaſant Eye, will beget Anger, or Pleaſure: One Man's Anger, or Sorrow, or Joy, can make a whole Aſſembly outrageous, or dejected, or merry; and the ſame Men are provoked or pleaſed by the ſame Words ſpoken in different Tones; becauſe they who hear them, take them juſt as he who ſpeaks them ſeems to mean them. I have ſeen a Preacher of mean Senſe and Language ſet a whole Congregation a howling, merely

merely becauſe he himſelf howled. By repeating the Words *Heaven* and *Hell*, with Diſtortion and Clamour, he poſſeſſed their Imaginations with all the Joys of the Bleſſed, and all the Torments and Terrors of the Damned; and by making them feel both by Turns, raiſed their Paſſions higher than the reading of our Bleſſed Saviour's Crucifixion, or his Sermon upon the Mount, could have raiſed them.

The Fancy, when once it is heated, quickly improves the firſt Spark into a Flame; which being an Aſſemblage of ſtrong and glowing Images, is, while it laſts, the ſtrongeſt Motion, and conſequently the greateſt Power in a Man; for all animal Power is Motion. And when a Man has thus got a Fire in his Head, his Reaſon, which is the gradual and deliberate weighing of Things, and the cool comparing of one inward Impulſe with another, muſt ſhift its Quarters till his Brains grow cool again. I dare ſay, that many Men, and ſtill more Women, who have without Emotion heard the great Dr. *Tillotſon* talk excellent Senſe and Morality for half an Hour, would have been powerfully edified, that is, violently tranſported, with the tuneful and humble Reveries of *John Bunyan*, of Biſhop *Beveridge*, or *Daniel Burgeſs*.

This Aptneſs to be moved by Sounds is natural, but improveable by Education and the Uſe of Words. There are in the Brain certain Fibres, or Strings, which naturally ſtretch and exert themſelves as ſoon as certain Sounds ſtrike upon them, but without being able to annex to them any determinate Idea, only in general, that

that they feel Pleaſure or Pain. It is like rubbing the Hand of a Man born deaf and blind with a File, or a Fleſh-Bruſh: He feels the Skin irritated, or ſoothed, but knows not with what. When theſe Fibres are touched, they diſperſe the Motion to the whole animal Spirits, and create in them Motions and Agitations agreeable to the Force and Quality of that Sound, which was the firſt Mover. Hence People are cured of the Bite of the *Tarantula* by Muſick; which, by quickning the Motion of the animal Spirits, raiſes in the Blood ſuch a Ferment, as drives out the Poiſon.

But when Deſcription is added to thoſe Sounds, and they convey particular and diſtinct Images; and when Scenes of Horror or of Joy are preſented in Sounds proper to convey them; then the Senſe and the Sound heightening vaſtly each other, their united Power over the Soul is infinite, and uncontroulable. The Word *Hell*, for Example, is without doubt capable of being pronounced in ſuch a hideous Tone and Action, as to affect and affright even a *Hottentot*, who knows nothing of *Hell*: But if with the Sound of *Hell*, the Deſcription of *Hell* is likewiſe conveyed; that it is a dark, immenſe, and baleful Dungeon, guarded by frightful and implacable Furies, armed with Whips and Torches; that it is filled with ſuffocating and burning Sulphur, and unintermitting Fire; that it is inhabited by the Damned, whoſe inceſſant Shrieks, hideous Roarings, and diſmal Yells, are the chief Entertainments there: and by Devils, who by their endleſs Inſults add, if poſſible,

poſſible, to their intenſe Tortures and horrible Burning, which are never, never to end ——

——— *Sights of Woe,*
Regions of Sorrow, doleful Shades, where Peace
And Reſt can never dwell, Hope never comes,
That comes to all; but Torture without End
Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed
With ever burning Sulphur unconſum'd ——

I ſay, this Idea of *Hell*, added to the Sound of *Hell*, would dreadfully aggravate the Horror even in a *Hottentot*. He might likewiſe be charmed with a ſoft and melodious Sound of *Heaven* well pronounced, without having any Conception of *Heaven*; but ſtill much more charmed, if the Idea of it accompanied the Sound, and all the celeſtial Scenery of Delight, a bleſſed Immortality, God, and Glory, were ſet, as it were, before his Eyes.

Such Force has Sound over the humane Soul, to animate and calm its Paſſions; and when proper Action is added to proper Sound, which two Parts conſtitute the mechanical Power of Eloquence, the Effects of it are as certain as the Effects of Wine, and its Strength as irreſiſtible. In this Reſpect Men reſemble muſical Inſtruments, and may be wound up, or let down to any Pitch, by touching skilfully the Stops and Cords of the animal Spirits. An expert Hand can make a Violin rage as violently, weep as bitterly, beg as heartily, and complain as mournfully, as Words can expreſs thoſe ſeveral Paſſions; and more than Words, without proper Modulation, can expreſs them. *Timotheus*

theus the Muſician played before *Alexander* the Great an Aire ſo martial and animating, that he ſtarted from the Table in a warlike Fury, and called for his Horſe and his Arms; and by another ſoft Aire ſo quelled the hoſtile Tumult in his Mind, that he ſat down quietly to Meat again. Thus was the Conqueror of the World himſelf conquered by Sound. Drums and Trumpets make Men bold: And the Marquis *de Biron*, one of the braveſt Men that ever lived, died like a Coward for want of them.

In a Day of Battle, when the Onſet is animated by all the awakening military Sounds of a Camp, the eager Neighing of the Horſes, and even the buſy and hollow Treading of their Feet; a general and warlike Murmur of every Man preparing to fight; the Clattering of Arms, calling into the Imagination the ſudden Uſe that is to be made of them; the haſty Thunder and vehement Rattling of Drums, inſpiring an Impatience for Battle; the dead and ſullen Dubbing of the Kettle-Drums, creating a ſteady and obſtinate Bravery; and, above all, the loud and ſhrill Clangour of the Trumpet, rouſing a chearful and lively Boldneſs: All theſe hoſtile Sounds, each of them deſtructive of Coldneſs and Fear, muſt occupy and incenſe every Spirit that a Man has in him, ſet his Soul in a Flame, and make even Cowards reſolute and brave.

I have ſeen a Beggar gain an Alms by a heavy and affecting Groan, when a Speech of *Cicero*'s compoſing, ſpoken without *Cicero*'s Art, would not have gained it. That Groan ſtruck the

the animal Spirits ſympathetically; and being continued to the Imagination, raiſed up there a Thouſand ſudden Conjectures and Preoccupations in his Favour, and a Thouſand Circumſtances of Diſtreſs, which he who uttered it perhaps never felt, nor thought of. Looks and Appearances have the like Efficacy: Another Beggar, ſhivering and naked in a cold wet Day, with humble, pale, and hungry Looks, or deſpairing ones, ſhall be as eloquent, without uttering a Word, as the other by uttering a Groan. The humane Sympathy in our Souls raiſes a Party for him within us, and our Fancy immediately repreſents us to our ſelves in the ſame doleful Circumſtances; and, for that Time, we feel all that the Beggar feels, and probably much more; for he is uſed to it, and can bear it better. If to the above melancholy Sound and miſerable Sight, we add the grievous Symptoms of Pain, Sickneſs, and Anguiſh, (as one often meets with Objects under all theſe terrible Claſſes of Miſery,) there is no Pitch of humane Pity and Horror, that ſuch a *Groupe* of humane Woes cannot raiſe.

Now, if ſingle Sound is thus bewitching, and Geſture alone is thus perſwaſive, and ſtill greatly more when united; how vaſtly prevailing muſt be their Force, when it comes arrayed and heightened by a ſwelling and irreſiſtible Tide of Words, enlivened by the moſt forcible and rapid Ideas, and bears down all before it? When the Orator attracts your Eyes, charms your Ears, and forces your Attention; brings Heaven and Earth into his Cauſe, and ſeems but to repreſent them, to ſpeak their Senſe,

Senſe, and to contend for their Intereſt? When he carries your Paſſions in his Hands, and ſuſpends or controuls all your Faculties, and yet perſwades you that your own Faculties guide you? When he leſſens great Things, magnifies little Things, and diſguiſes all; his every Geſture is animated, and every Muſcle perſwades; his Words lighten, and his Breath is on fire; every Word glows, and every Image flames; he fills, delights, kindles, and aſtoniſhes your Imagination; raiſes a Storm in your Heart, and governs you in that Storm; rouzes all that is humane in you, and makes your own Heart conſpire againſt you! —— In this magical and outrageous Tempeſt, you are at the entire Mercy of him who raiſed it.

Cæſar was reſolved to puniſh Q. *Ligarius*; but *Cicero* had a Mind to ſave him, and undertook his Defence. *Cæſar* admitted him to ſpeak, only out of the Gaiety of his Heart; and for the mere Pleaſure of hearing him; for he was determined not to be ſhaken from his Purpoſe. But he was deceived: *Cicero* in the very Beginning of his Speech wonderfully moved him, and proceeded in it with ſuch a Variety of *Pathos*, and ſuch an amazing Grace, that *Cæſar* often changed Countenance; and it was plain that his Soul was in a Hurricane, and that all his Paſſions were agitated. But the Orator touching artfully upon the Battle of *Pharſalia*, ſo tranſported him, that he trembled all over, and the Papers which he held dropp'd out of his Hands; and being quite overcome, he acquitted *Ligarius*.

What

What an amazing Inſtance of the Power of Speaking! Behold the great and conquering *Cæſar*, the abſolute Maſter of *Rome*, and of all the *Roman* World, provoked at a Man who had born Arms againſt him, fixed upon his Doom, and Life and Death in his Hands! Behold this great and arbitrary Man, this angry, awful, and prepoſſeſſed Judge, overpowered by the Force of Eloquence, diſarmed of his Wrath, his Deſigns wreſted from him, his Inclinations, when he thought himſelf beſt fortified in them, entirely changed, and himſelf, from being terrible, brought to tremble! *Cæſar* too was a great Orator, and had often tried upon others, with Succeſs, the Power of his own Rhetorick; but was not then aware how much it could do upon himſelf. It was *Cicero*, it was the Orator, and not the Cauſe, that triumphed here. The bare Senſe of that fine Speech, would not have ſuſpended *Cæſar*'s Diſpleaſure for a Moment: But the Speaker was not to be reſiſted: All Oppoſition fled, and every Spark of Reſentment vaniſhed before him. The Emperor was enchanted by the Orator; and *Cæſar* was, as it were, poſſeſſed with *Cicero*.

I am, &c.

P. S. I have in theſe two Letters comprized all that I propoſed to ſay upon Eloquence: In my laſt I have conſidered it politically, and in this philoſophically; and in both I have ſhewn its Force. I have likewiſe examined the ſeveral Kinds of it, as far as concerns my preſent Purpoſe, and ſhewn how it affects Government.

vernment and humane Nature, and from what Sources in both it proceeds. Thoſe who would ſtudy it as an Art, and know the many Accompliſhments neceſſary to excel in it, muſt read *Cicero de Oratore*, and *Quintillian.*

SIR,

I Intend, in this and ſome future Letters, to give my Opinion about Plantations; which ſeems to me to be a Subject underſtood but by few, and that there is but little Uſe made of that Underſtanding. It is moſt certain, that the Riches of a Nation conſiſt in the Number of its Inhabitants, when thoſe Inhabitants are uſefully employed, and no more of them live upon the Induſtry of others (like Drones in a Hive) than are neceſſary to preſerve the Oeconomy of the Whole: For the reſt, ſuch as Gameſters, Cheats, Thieves, Sharpers, and Abby-Lubbers, and ſome of their Betters, waſte and deſtroy the publick Wealth, without adding any thing to it. Therefore, if any Nation drives or diſtreſſes any of its Subjects out of their Country, or ſends any of them out in fooliſh Wars, or uſeleſs Expeditions, or for any other Cauſes, which do not return more Advantage than bring Loſs, they ſo far enervate their State, and let out Part of their beſt Hearts Blood.

Now, in many Inſtances, Men add more to the publick Stock by being out of their Coun-

try

try than in it; as Ambaſſadors, Publick Miniſters, and their Retinues, who tranſact the Affairs of a Nation; Merchants and Tradeſmen, who carry on its Traffick; Soldiers in neceſſary Wars; and ſometimes Travellers, who teach us the Cuſtoms, Manners, and Policies of diſtant Countries, whereby we may regulate and improve our own: And all, or moſt of theſe, return to us again with Advantage. But, in other Inſtances, a Man leaves his Country, never, or very rarely, to return again; and then the State will ſuffer Loſs, if the Perſon ſo leaving it is not employed Abroad in ſuch Induſtry, in raiſing ſuch Commodities, or in performing ſuch Services, as will return more Benefit to his native Country, than they ſuffer Prejudice by loſing an uſeful Member.

This is often done by planting Colonies, which are of two Sorts: One to keep conquered Countries in Subjection, and to prevent the Neceſſity of conſtant Standing-Armies; a Policy which the *Romans* practiſed, till their Conqueſts grew too numerous, the conquered Countries too diſtant, and their Empire too unweildy to be managed by their native Force; and then they became the Slaves of thoſe they conquered. This Policy, for many Ages, we our ſelves uſed in *Ireland*, till the Faſhion of our Neighbours, and the Wiſdom of modern Ages, have taught us the Uſe of Armies: And I wiſh thoſe who come after us may never learn all their Uſes. I muſt confeſs, that I am not wiſe enough to enter into all the Policy made uſe of formerly in governing that Country, and ſhall in proper Time communicate

my

my Doubts, in hopes to receive better Information. In the mean Time, I cannot but perſwade myſelf, that when our Superiors are at leiſure from greater Affairs, it may be poſſible to offer them a Propoſition more honourable to the Crown, more advantageous to each Kingdom, and to the particular Members of them, and vaſtly more conducive to the Power of the whole Empire, than the doubtful State they are now in. But as this is not the Purpoſe of my preſent Letter, I ſhall proceed to conſider the Nature of the other Sort of Colonies.

The other Sort of Colonies are for Trade, and intended to increaſe the Wealth and Power of the native Kingdom; which they will abundantly do, if managed prudently, and put and kept under a proper Regulation. No Nation has, or ever had, all the Materials of Commerce within itſelf: No Climate produces all Commodities; and yet it is the Intereſt, Pleaſure, or Convenience of every People, to uſe or trade in moſt or all of them; and rather to raiſe them themſelves, than to purchaſe them from others, unleſs in ſome Inſtances, when they change their own Commodities for them, and employ as many or more People at Home in that Exchange, as loſe their Employment by purchaſing them from Abroad. Now Colonies planted in proper Climates, and kept to their proper Buſineſs, undoubtedly do this; and particularly many of our own Colonies in the *Weſt Indies* employ ten Times their own Number in *Old England*, by ſending them from hence Proviſions, Manufactures, Utenſils for themſelves and their Slaves, by Navigation, working

working up the Commodities they ſend us, and retaining and exporting them afterwards, and in returning again to us Silver and Gold, and Materials for new Manufactures; and our Northern Colonies do, or may if encouraged, ſupply us with Timber, Hemp, Iron and other Metals, and indeed may ſupply us with moſt or all the Materials of Navigation, and our Neighbours too, through our Hands; and by that Means ſettle a ſolid Naval Power in *Great Britain*, not precarious and ſubject to Diſappointments, and the Caprices of our Neighbours; which Management would make us ſoon Maſters of moſt of the Trade of the World.

I would not ſuggeſt ſo diſtant a Thought, as that any of our Colonies, when they grow ſtronger, ſhould ever attempt to wean themſelves from us; however, I think too much Care cannot be taken to prevent it, and to preſerve their Dependencies upon their Mother-Country. It is not to be hoped in the corrupt State of humane Nature, that any Nation will be ſubject to another any longer than it finds its own Account in it, and cannot help itſelf. Every Man's firſt Thought will be for himſelf and his own Intereſt, and he will not be long to ſeek for Arguments to juſtify his being ſo, when he knows how to attain what he propoſes. Men will think it hard to work, toil, and run Hazards, for the Advantage of others any longer than they find their own Intereſt in it, and eſpecially for thoſe who uſe them ill: All Nature points out that Courſe: No Creature ſucks the Teats of their Dams longer than they

they can draw Milk from thence, or can provide themſelves with better Food: Nor will any Country continue their Subjection to another, only becauſe their Great-Grandmothers were acquainted.

This is the Courſe of Humane Affairs; and all wiſe States will always have it before their Eyes; and will well conſider therefore how to preſerve the Advantages ariſing from Colonies, and avoid the Evils. And I conceive there can be but two Ways in Nature to hinder them from throwing off their Dependence: The one to keep it out of their Power, and the other out of their Will. The firſt muſt be by Force; and the latter by uſing them well, and keeping them employ'd in ſuch Productions, and making ſuch Manufactures, as will ſupport themſelves and Families comfortably, and get Wealth too, or at leaſt not prejudice their Mother-Country.

Force can never be uſed effectually to anſwer this End, without deſtroying the Colonies themſelves. Liberty and Encouragement are neceſſary to carry People thither, and to keep them together when they are there; and Violence will hinder both. Any Body of Troops conſiderable enough to awe them, and keep them in Subjection, and under the Direction too of a needy Governor, often ſent thither to make his Fortune, and at ſuch a Diſtance from any Application for Redreſs, will ſoon put an End to all Planting, and leave the Country to the Soldiers alone; and if it did not, would eat up all the Profit of the Colony. For this Reaſon, Arbitrary Countries have not been equally

qually ſucceſsful in planting Colonies with free ones; and what they have done in that kind, has either been by Force, at a vaſt Expence, or by departing from the Nature of their Government, and giving Privileges to Planters which were denied to their other Subjects. And I dare ſay, that a few prudent Laws, and a little prudent Conduct, would ſoon give us far the greateſt Share of the Riches of all *America*, and perhaps drive many of other Nations out of it, or into our Colonies for Shelter.

If Violence, or Methods tending to Violence, are not uſed to prevent it, our Northern Colonies muſt conſtantly increaſe in People, Wealth, and Power. Men living in healthy Climates, paying eaſy or no Taxes, not moleſted with Wars, muſt vaſtly increaſe by natural Generation, beſides vaſt Numbers every Day flow thither from our own Dominions, and from other Parts of *Europe*, becauſe they have there ready Employment, and Lands given to them for Tilling; inſomuch, that I am told they have doubled their Inhabitants ſince the Revolution, and in leſs than a Century muſt become powerful States; and the more powerful they grow, ſtill the more People will flock thither: And there are ſo many Exigencies in all States, ſo many foreign Wars and domeſtick Diſturbances, that they can never want Opportunities, if they watch for them, to do what they ſhall find their Intereſt to do; and therefore we ought to take all the Precautions in our Power, that it ſhall never be their Intereſt to act againſt that of their native Coun-

Country; and that can only be done by keeping them fully employ'd in ſuch Trades as will increaſe their own, as well as our Wealth; for 'tis much to be feared, if we do not find Employment for them, they may find it for us.

No two Nations, no two Bodies of Men, or ſcarce two Men, can long continue in Friendſhip, without having ſome Cement of their Unions; and where Relation, Acquaintance, or mutual Pleaſures, are wanting, mutual Intereſts alone can bind it: But when thoſe Intereſts ſeparate, each Side muſt aſſuredly purſue their own. The Intereſt of Colonies is often to wean themſelves; and is always ſo when they no longer want Protection, and when they can employ themſelves more advantageouſly, than in ſupplying Materials of Traffick to others: And the Intereſt of the Mother-Country is always to keep them dependent, and ſo employed; and it requires all their Addreſs to do it; and 'tis certainly more eaſily and effectually done by gentle and inſenſible Methods, than by Power alone.

Men will always think they have a Right to Air, Earth, and Water, to employ themſelves for their own Support, to live by their own Labours, and to apply the Gifts of God to their own Benefit; and in order to it, to make the beſt of their Soil, and to work up their own Product; and when this cannot be done without Detriment to their Mother-Country, there can be but one fair, honeſt, and indeed effectual Way to prevent it, which is, to divert them upon other Employments as advantageous

tageous to themſelves, and more ſo to their Employers; that is, in raiſing ſuch Growth, and making ſuch Manufactures as will not prejudice their own, or at leaſt in no Degree equal to the Advantage they bring; and when ſuch Commodities are raiſed or made, they ought to be taken off their Hands, and they ought not to be forced to find out other Markets by ſtealth, or upon throwing themſelves upon new Protections: Whilſt People have a full Employment, and can maintain themſelves comfortably in a Way they have been uſed to, they never will ſeek after a new one, eſpecially when they meet Encouragement in one, and are diſcountenanced in the other.

As without this Conduct, Colonies muſt be miſchievous to their Mother-Country for the Reaſons before given, ſo with it the greateſt Part of the Wealth they acquire centers there; for all their Productions are ſo many Augmentations of our Power and Riches, as they are Returns of the People's Labour, the Rewards of Merchants, or Increaſe of Navigation; without which, all who are ſent Abroad are a dead Loſs to their Country, and as uſeleſs as if dead; and more ſo, if they become Enemies; for we can ſend no Commodities to them, unleſs they have others to exchange for them, and ſuch as we find our Intereſt in taking.

As to our Southern Plantations, we are in this reſpect upon a tolerable Foot already; for the Productions there, are of ſo different a Nature from our own, that they can never interfere with us, and the Climates are ſo unhealthy,

that no more People will go or continue there, than are neceſſary to raiſe the Commodities we want, and conſequently they can never be dangerous to us; but our Northern Colonies are healthy Climates, and can raiſe all or moſt of the Commodities which our own Country produces. They conſtantly increaſe in People, and will conſtantly increaſe: And without the former Precautions, muſt, by the natural Courſe of humane Affairs, interfere with moſt Branches of our Trade, work up our beſt Manufactures, and at laſt grow too powerful and unruly to be governed for our Intereſt only: And therefore, ſince the Way lies open to us, to prevent ſo much Miſchief, to do much Good, and add ſo much Wealth and Power to *Great Britain*, by making thoſe Countries the Magazines of our Naval Stores, I hope we ſhall not loſe all theſe Advantages, in Compliment to the Intereſts of a few private Gentlemen, or even to a few Counties.

We have had a Specimen of this wiſe Conduct in prohibiting the *Iriſh* Cattle, which were formerly brought to *England* lean, in Exchange for our Commodities, and fatted here, but are now killed and ſent Abroad directly from *Ireland*: And ſo we loſe the whole Carriage and Merchants Advantage, and the Vent of the Commodities ſent to purchaſe them. And lately we have made ſuch another prudent Law, to prevent the importing their Woollen Manufacture, which has put them upon wearing none of ours, making all or moſt of their own Cloth themſelves; exporting great Quantities of all ſorts by Stealth, and the greater Part

Part of their Wooll to rival Nations; and by ſuch Means it is that we are beholden to the Plague in *France*, to their *Miſſiſſipi* Company, and their total Loſs of Credit, that we have not loſt a great Part of that Manufacture. It is true, we have made ſome notable Proviſion to hedge in the Cuckoo, and to make all the People of that Kingdom execute a Law, which it is every Man's Intereſt there not to execute; and it is executed accordingly.

I ſhall ſome time hereafter conſider that Kingdom in relation to the Intereſt of *Great Britain*; and ſhall ſay at preſent only, that it is too powerful to be treated only as a Colony; and that if we deſign to continue them Friends, the beſt Way to do it, is to imitate the Example of Merchants and Shopkeepers; that is, when their Apprentices are acquainted with their Trade and their Cuſtomers, are out of their Time, to take them into Partnerſhip, rather than to ſet them up for themſelves in their Neighbourhood.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I Have in a former Letter obſerved, That Men ever have been, and, I doubt, ever will be cheated by Sounds, without having any juſt Ideas annexed to them. When Words have obtained an Eſteem and ſort of Veneration, their Meanings will be varied as often as

thoſe in Poſſeſſion of Reverence and popular Applauſe have Occaſion to make different Uſes of them. It ſeems to me, that no Word has ſuffered more from this Abuſe than the Word *Credit*; nor in any Inſtance has the Publick ſuffered more Miſchief than by the Abuſe of it.

A Merchant, or Tradeſman, is ſaid to be in good Credit, when his viſible Gains appear to be greater than his Expences; when he is induſtrious, and takes care of his Affairs; when he makes punctual Payments, and the Wares he ſells may be depended upon as to their Goodneſs and Value; and when thoſe who deal with him can have a reaſonable Aſſurance that he will make a Profit by his Care from the Commodities they entruſt him with; and if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, that he has a remaining Subſtance ſufficient at laſt to anſwer all Demands. A private Gentleman is ſaid to have great Credit, who lives within his Income, has Regard to his Character and his Honour, is juſt to his Word and Promiſes, and is known to have an unincumbered Eſtate, or one ſuperior to all his ſuppoſed Engagements; from whence his Creditors form a reaſonable Expectation that they ſhall be paid again without a Law-Suit, and a Certainty that they can be paid with one: And therefore all theſe will be truſted for as much as they are worth, and ſometimes more, at the loweſt Price for the Goods they buy, and at the loweſt Intereſt for the Money they borrow.

But if a Merchant is obſerved to live in Riot and Profuſion, to leave his Eſtate to the Direction

rection of Servants, who cheat him, or neglect his Buſineſs; if he turns Projector, does not pay his Bills, and ſhuffles in his Bargains, and ſells faulty Goods which are bought upon his Word: Or, if a Gentleman is known to ſpend more than his Income, to mortgage his Lands, to take no Care of his Eſtate, or how his Stewards or Bailiffs manage it; if he runs in Debt to Tradeſmen and Mechanicks, and is perpetually borrowing Money, without any Thoughts how to pay it; I ſay, under ſuch Management, no fair Dealer will have any Thing to do with them; and of courſe they fall into the Hands of Scriveners, knaviſh Attornys, and griping Uſurers; will be fed from Hand to Mouth, pay double and treble Intereſt for what they receive, till their Creditors watch their Opportunity, and ſweep all.

Credit is ſaid to run high in a Nation, when there are great Numbers of wealthy Subjects in the former Circumſtances, which will always be produced by an affluent Trade; and when the Commodities of a Country, and the Production of the People's Labour, find a ready Vent, and at a good Price; for then they will ſee their Account in Punctuality of Payment and fair Dealing, and will not run the Hazard of loſing a regular Suſtenance for their Families, or a conſtant Profit ariſing from an open Trade, for the preſent and occaſional Advantage which they may hope to receive from a knaviſh Bargain, or a fraudulent Circumvention: And thoſe who do otherwiſe are generally undone, and ſell a conſtant and a yearly Income to themſelves, and poſſibly to their Families after

for an Year or two's Purchaſe, and often for much leſs.

But if any of theſe are above, or without the Reach of the Laws, or, by reaſon of their Station and Figure, it is difficult to get the Benefit of the Laws, their Credit will proportionably abate, becauſe a great Part of the Security they can give fails, and they muſt conſequently pay greater Intereſt and Procuration for the Money they borrow, and a greater Price for the Goods they buy; for thoſe who deal with them will always propoſe to be Gainers by the Whole, upon computing their Delays and Hazards.

The Credit of a State, or what we call Publick Credit, muſt be preſerved by the ſame Means as private Men preſerve theirs, namely, by doing ſtrict Juſtice to Particulars, by being exact in their Payments, not chicaning in their Bargains, nor frightning and tricking People into them, or out of them; by letting them know what they buy, and not altering the Nature or Property of it, to ſerve After-purpoſes, and without the free Conſent of the Perſons intereſted: And they are always to take eſpecial Care to ſell nothing but what is valuable; to coin Silver and Gold, and not put the Stamp of Publick Authority upon baſe and counterfeit Metals.

Indeed, States are much more concerned to keep up the Opinion of their Integrity than private Men; becauſe thoſe that truſt them, have, in effect, only their Honour and their Intereſts to depend upon for Payment, and therefore will well conſider whether it is their

Intereſt

Intereſt to maintain their Honour. I doubt private Men would have little Credit, and upon very ill Terms too, if they could not be ſued, or could vacate their own Securities; for when it becomes more a Man's Intereſt not to pay, than to pay his Debts, and he can chuſe which he pleaſes, no one would care to have any Part of his Fortune depend upon thoſe Reſolutions. 'Tis certainly the Intereſt of all Men to keep up the Reputation of their Honeſty as long as it can be kept, in order to be truſted for the future; but when they can be truſted no longer, nor are able to pay what they are already truſted with, and can decline paying it when they ſee apparent Ruin in being honeſt, it is eaſy to gueſs what Courſe will be taken.

What Nation beſides our own, has explained publick Honour by any other Maxims than publick Intereſt? Or have kept their Treaties or Agreements with Foreign States, or one another, any longer than it was their Intereſt upon the Whole to keep them? And indeed very few have kept them ſo long. I am ſure no wiſe State will depend upon the Obſervance of Leagues and National Contracts, any longer. What Country has not made frequent Acts of Reſumption, when the Folly and Knavery of their Predeceſſors has embezzled the publick Revenues, and rendered the State unable to defend itſelf? Whereby private Men have been deprived of Eſtates to which they had undoubted Titles by the Laws of their Country, which perhaps had paſſed many Deſcents and many Purchaſes; and yet the Loſers ſometimes

have no other Reaſon to complain, than that they want the Conſolation of ſeeing their Country undone with them; which muſt have been the Caſe if they had not been undone alone. *Sweden* did this in the laſt Age; *Spain* lately; and another Country in our Time, has not only in effect cancelled all its Engagements, but by various Stratagems drawn the Wealth of the Whole into its Coffers, and ſeized it when it was there. Which puts me in mind of a Story of a Butcher, who thought himſelf happy in the Poſſeſſion of a ſagacious, diligent, and ſeemingly faithful Dog, to whom, by long Experience of his Service, he thought he might ſafely truſt the Cuſtody of his Shambles in his Abſence: But *Hector* one Day obſerving, againſt a great Feſtival, the Shop to be much fuller of Meat than uſual, thought it was high Time to ſet up for himſelf, and ſo very reſolutely denied his Maſter Entrance; who had then no Remedy left but to ſhoot him.

I have above endeavoured to ſhew what, and what alone, ought to be called Credit. But there has lately riſen up, in our Age, a new-fangled and fantaſtical Credulity, which has uſurp'd the ſame Name, and came in with the Word *Rite*, which has been made free of a Neighbouring Court; whereby the poor, innocent, induſtrious, and unwary People, have been delivered into the ravenous and polluted Jaws of Vultures and Tygers; and Thouſands, I had almoſt ſaid Millions, have been ſacrificed, to ſatiate the Gluttony of a few. This has inverted the Oeconomy and Policy of Nations; made a great Kingdom turn all Gameſters; and

Men

Men have acquired the Reputation of Wiſdom, from their Skill in picking Pockets: It has entered into the Cabinets of Courts; has guided the Counſels of Senates, and their whole Wiſdom; and moſt of their Time has been employ'd in keeping up this vile and airy Traffick, as if the Buſineſs of Government was not to protect People in their Property, but to cheat them out of it.

This is eminently true in a Neighbouring Country; and I wiſh I could ſay, that nothing like it had ever happened amongſt us. But as no Men now in Power are anſwerable for this great Miſchief, ſo I hope and believe we ſhall have their hearty Aſſiſtance to extricate us out of all theſe Evils. And as I pleaſe my ſelf with believing that I ſpeak the Senſe of my Superiors, ſo I ſhall take the Liberty to ſay, that neither publick nor private Credit can conſiſt in ſelling any thing for more than it is worth, or for any thing but what it is. It is certainly the Intereſt of a Country, that its Commodities ſhould ſell at a good Price, and find a ready Vent; that private Men ſhould be able ſafely to truſt one another; that Lands ſhould find ready Purchaſers, good Securities, Money at low Intereſt; and that Mortgages ſhould be eaſily transferable. And the Way to bring theſe good Purpoſes to paſs, is to aſcertain Titles; give ready Remedies to the Injured; to procure general Plenty by prudent Laws, and by giving all Encouragement to Induſtry and Honeſty. But it will never be effected, by authorizing or countenancing Frauds; by enabling artful Men to circumvent the Unwary, ſtamping the pub-

lick Seal upon counterfeit Wares; and by conſtantly coining a new Sort of Property, of a precarious, uncertain, and tranſitory Value; and by conſtant Juggles and Combinations conſpiring to make it more ſo: Which Conduct, whenever practiſed, muſt ſoon put an End to all publick and private Credit.

In what Country ſoever theſe Practices meet with Encouragement, all fair and honeſt Dealing will be turned into Juggling. There will quickly grow a ſort of Cabaliſtical Learning: And there will be a ſecret and a vulgar Knowledge; one to be truſted only to the *vere adepti* and Managers; and the other to be divulged to the People, who will be told nothing but what is for the Intereſt of their Betters to communicate; and pretty Advantages may be made by being in the Secret. As for Example; Juſt before any publick Misfortune is to make its Appearance, thoſe who know of it may ſell out; and in the Height of the Danger buy again; and when 'tis over, by taking another Opportunity, they may ſell a ſecond Time. And when theſe Evils are averted, they may go to Market once more; and ſo, *toties quoties*, till the greateſt Part of the Property of a Kingdom is got into the Hands of but a few Perſons, who will then undoubtedly govern all the reſt. Nor can theſe Miſchiefs be poſſibly prevented, but by wholly deſtroying this ſort of Traffick, or by appointing skilful Pilots to ſet up occaſional Buoys and Sea-Marks, according to the ſhifting of the Winds and the Tides; that is, by aſcertaining and publiſhing the real Value of all publick Securities, as often as there

is

is an Alteration made in them by new Proviſions, or by wholly preventing the Abuſes occaſioned by the vile Trade of Stock jobbing; which I conceive is not difficult to do, when Stock-Jobbers have no Hand in directing the Remedy.

Till ſomething of this kind is done, it is fooliſh to think, and worſe to pretend to think, that any effectual Methods can be taken to diſcharge and pay off the National Engagements: For in whatever Country it happens, that the publick Funds become the Markets and ſtanding Revenues of thoſe who can beſt cure the Evil: where great and ſudden Eſtates may be more eaſily raiſed by Knavery and Juggling, than ſmall ones by Virtue and Merit, where Plumbs may be got at once, and vaſt Societies may be made the Accomplices of Power, in order to be indulged with ſeparate Advantages; it is not to be hoped that effectual Methods will be taken to dam and choak up ſuch inexhauſtible Sources of Wealth and Dominion: On the contrary, it is to be feared, that new Projects will be yearly invented, new Schemes coloured with popular Pretences, to toſs and tumble the publick Securities, and to change them into as many Shapes as *Proteus* knew. One Year ſhall metamorphoſe the Schemes of another; and the next ſhall undo both. The Leaders of one Faction ſhall unravel the Projects of their Predeceſſors; ſhall charge their Deſigns with Corruption and Rapine, and be more rapacious themſelves: and all in their Turns ſhall raiſe vaſt Eſtates upon the publick Ruins; and the laſt Spirits ſhall be always the

worſt.

worſt. Artful and conſpiring Men ſhall buy up deſperate Debts, and then uſe Intrigues and Corruption to load their Country with them; and the Buſineſs of Nations ſhall ſtand ſtill, or rather it ſhall become their Buſineſs to fiſh in theſe troubled Streams,-till by long Experience of the Loſs of their Fellows the Fiſh will bite no longer; and then 'tis eaſy to gueſs what is next to be done. There is but one Method which can be taken; and that will be taken.

I would gladly know what Advantage ever has, or ever can, accrue to the Publick, by raiſing Stocks to an imaginary Value, beyond what they are really worth to an honeſt Man, who purchaſes them for a regular Support to himſelf and Family, and deſigns not to ſell them again, till he has Occaſion for the Money they will produce. It can moſt aſſuredly ſerve no honeſt Purpoſe, and will promote a Thouſand knaviſh ones. Beſides thoſe before mentioned, it turns moſt of the current Coin of *England* out of the Channels of Trade, and the Heads of all its Merchants and Traders off their proper Buſineſs: It enriches the worſt Men, and ruins the Innocent: It taints Men's Morals, and defaces all the Principles of Virtue and fair Dealing, and introduces Combination and Fraud in all ſorts of Traffick. It has changed honeſt Commerce into Bubbling; our Traders into Projectors; Induſtry into Tricking; and Applauſe is earned, when the Pillory is deſerved: It has created all the Diſſatisfaction ſo much complained of, and all the Miſchiefs attending it, which daily threaten us, and which give Reaſons of ſtanding

ing or occaſional Troops: It has cauſed all the Confuſion in our publick Finances: It has ſet up monſtrous Members and Societies in the Body Politick, which are grown, I had almoſt ſaid, too big for the whole Kingdom: It has multiplied Offices and Dependencies in the Power of the Court, which in Time may fill the Legiſlature, and alter the Ballance of Government: It has overwhelmed the Nation with Debts and Burdens, under which it is almoſt ready to ſink; and it has hindred thoſe Debts from being paid off: For if Stocks ſell for more, or much more upon the *Exchange*, than the Prices at which they are redeemable; or more can be got by jobbing them, than by diſcharging them, then all Arts will be uſed to prevent a Redemption. But as this is not at preſent our Caſe, ſo it is every Man's Intereſt, concerned in our Funds, to ſecure their Principal, and to promote every Means which will enable their Country to pay them.

I doubt not but I ſhall incur the Cenſure of many, by thus laying open our Nakedneſs, and probing our Wounds; and I cannot deny but I found ſome Reluctance in doing it: But it muſt be done before they can be cured. The Patient cannot now bear Quacking; and if effectual Remedies are not ſpeedily taken, the Caſe is deſperate. The Security and Intereſt of the Crown, the Power and Reputation of the Kingdom, the Credit and Honour of the Miniſtry, depend upon doing this great Work: And I really believe the latter have Inclinations and Reſolutions to do it. It can never be done effectually without their Aſſiſtance; and if they

they give it, and ſet themſelves at the Head of ſo publick a Good, they will juſtly obtain a Reputation far beyond any who have ever appeared before them, and will enjoy unenvied all the Wealth and Advantages which attend Greatneſs and Power. 'Tis Folly in any one, who is the leaſt acquainted with the Affairs of Nations, to pretend not to ſee, that if we do not ſoon put our publick Debts in a Method of being paid, they can never be paid; and all will certainly do their utmoſt to prevent ſo fatal a Miſchief to their Country who do not intend it. But if there are any ſuch, which I hope and believe there are not, they will then undoubtedly take early Care to ſave themſelves out of the general Wreck, which very few will be able to do, though all will intend it. Thoſe in the Secret will have the Advantage; for when Selling becomes the Word, no one can ſell, unleſs he ſells for little or nothing. All are waiting for a Riſe; and if that happens, all or moſt will endeavour to ſell, and then all Selling is at an End: The Managers and Brokers will engroſs the Books as they did lately, and command the firſt Sale; and by the Time they are got out, no one elſe will be able to get out.

There is nothing therefore left to be done, but for all honeſt Men to join Heads, Hearts, and Hands, to find all Means to diſcharge the publick Burdens, and to add no more to them; to ſearch every Meaſure whereby we can leſſen the National Expences; to avoid all Occaſions of engaging in new ones; and to do all in our Power to increaſe Trade and the publick Wealth,

Wealth, without ſacrificing it to any Jobbs or private Views. Which Conduct alone will enable us honeſtly to pay off what we owe, and to become once more a free, rich, happy, and flouriſhing People.

I am, &c.

SIR,

THE Condition of an Abſolute Prince is thought the higheſt Lot of humane Life, in point of Splendor, Plenty, and Power; and perhaps the loweſt in point of Happineſs. The greateſt Appearances of Pleaſure are no certain Proofs of Pleaſure; and he who can enjoy all Things, has often the leaſt Enjoyment; having little or nothing to expect, he is at a Stand in Life; than which there cannot be a greater Unhappineſs. It is an agreeable Fallacy which Men keep themſelves under, that while they find themſelves daily diſappointed in the Enjoyments from which they expected moſt Pleaſure, they ſtill preſs forward to more Enjoyments, without expecting to be diſappointed, tho' they certainly will. Their Happineſs conſiſts in being deceived without knowing it; and when they find that they are, they do not grow wiſer, but go on to promiſe themſelves Satisfaction from Things, which, upon a Thouſand Trials, they have found, gave them none.

Our

Our only laſting Pleaſure therefore is Expectation: And what have Abſolute Princes to expect; they who are in Poſſeſſion of all Things? And yet they cannot live without Expectation: They grow weary of Pleaſures within their Power, and are therefore for ſtretching their Power to procure more, or better; which yet it will not procure: But their Hopes beguile them.

Hence great and famous Conquerors, never content with their preſent Condition, come to be the inceſſant Troublers of the World: And they who ſhould have protected it, and preſerved its Peace, have often ſought their Pleaſures in the Tears, Miſery, and Sorrows of Millions; and often found their own Grief, Ruin, and ill Fate in doing ſo. That this has been their Character, is too univerſally true; and I believe it will be hard to ſhew one ſuch Prince in an hundred, who never laid Snares either againſt his own People, or his Neighbours; and tho' he never did, yet it was their Duty and near Concern to be upon their Guard againſt him: They might have depended upon it, as a Propoſition that had infinite Odds of its Side, that he was not ſatisfied with his preſent Condition, and that he would alter it, if he could, at their Expence: Either his Power was not abſolute enough, or his Dominions not wide enough; nor would they ever have been, whatever Acceſſions of both accrued to him. There was ſtill ſome darling Point to gain, dearer than any before gained, tho' they were all ſo before they were gained.

It is the hard Fate of Conquerors, that their only, or chiefeſt remaining Pleaſure, is that of doing Miſchief; but the Fate of their Subjects and Neighbours is harder. They are often undone to furniſh out Employment for their Governours, who find their Pleaſure in deſtroying their People, or in doing that which deſtroys them. To increaſe Power is, no doubt, the Maxim of theſe Princes; but their Practice generally contradicts it, while they leſſen their People and their Wealth to enlarge their Territory; every Addition of this kind being an Addition to their Weakneſs; and therefore great Empires, from the Moment they are at their Heighth, are in a continual Decay; the Decay and Diſcouragement of the People being the unnatural Means of their firſt Growth; and their Increaſe contained in it, and carried along with it, certain Seeds of Decreaſe and Deſolation.

It may ſeem a Contradiction, to ſay, That the Whole can be built upon the Deſtruction of the Parts: And yet it is true of abſolute Monarchy, which does ever ſubſiſt by ruining and deſtroying thoſe by whom it ſubſiſts; and the People, without whom it is nothing, muſt be undone to make it what it is. It is a Power erected upon the Ruin of its own Strength, which is the People; and when they are gone, the Power muſt go, growing firſt impotent in proportion to their Miſery and Thinneſs; and that it does make them miſerable and thin, and muſt at laſt extinguiſh them, I have at large ſhewn in former Letters; I think, demonſtrated. It may bounce and terrify for a while,

while, and extend its Bounds; but even at the Time when it looks biggeſt and ſtrongeſt, it is wearing out, and by its Conqueſt does but dig its own Grave the deeper, by conſuming its old People to acquire new, whom it alſo conſumes, and with whom it muſt alſo conſume; like a Debauchee in private Life, the faſter he lives, the leſs he has to live.

The Conqueſts of the *Spaniards* made a great Noiſe in the World, and them very terrible for a Time. But their Gold and Silver Mountains of *Mexico* and *Peru*, tho' they are ſuch glorious Prizes as never before fell to the Lot of any Conqueror, have not made that Nation Amends for the Loſs and Fewneſs of their People at Home. Thoſe that remain there cannot be ſaid to be enrich'd by theſe vaſt Acquiſitions, whatever ſome Particulars may be, who by their Inequality and Inſolence oppreſs the Whole. And for the *Turkiſh* Empire, which frightened *Europe* and the World, and ſubdued great Part of it, it is ſo wretchedly ſunk in its Diſcipline and Forces, and its Provinces are ſo deſolate and poor, that, in all humane Probability, this Generation will ſee it broken into an Hundred Pieces. It has ſpun itſelf out, as the *Saracen* Empire did before it, into a Thread too long and too ſmall to bear its own great Burden without breaking.

People are like Wire: The more they are extended, the weaker they become; and the cloſer they are together, the richer they grow, and more potent. This is the Language of common Senſe and Experience: But Ambition ſpeaks another and a different, for extenſive Empire

Empire and uncontrouled Dominion; and being too well heard, puts them upon ſacrificing their real Strength to that which is only imaginary. Hence they become really impotent in queſt of falſe Power, and deſtroy Men in groſs for the venal Breath of a few Flatterers, which they call Glory. But horrid and deteſtable are the Ways to ſuch Glory, which incites them to ravage and plague, to ſetter and kill humane Race for the Sake of a pleaſant Dream, to which too they ſacrifice all their waking Quiet, and make themſelves and all others miſerable for this deluſive Dream of their own ſeparate Happineſs, which, like a Phantom, mocks their Sight, and flies from them the more they purſue it.

Beſides, whoſoever conſiders the many Difficulties and Dangers, the endleſs Uncertainties and Anxieties, and the general Horror and Hatred inſeparable from ſuch Purſuits, will ſee how poorly they reward him who makes them; having long ſtretched out his Arms to embrace Happineſs, he is at laſt forced to draw them back empty, or full of Sorrows. He who who ſeeks Felicity this Way, hunts a Shadow, which he will never overtake: And, in truth, what can ſuch a Troubler of the Earth expect, but the bitter Averſion of his own People, whom he oppreſſes and exhauſts, and the Curſes of Mankind, whom he perſecutes and lays waſte? Conqueſt gives him no new Security; but, far from it, multiplies thoſe who have a Mind to deſtroy him, and arms more Hands againſt him. They who poſſeſs moſt, have more to fear; eſpecially when coming to their

their Poſſeſſions by Injuſtice, they muſt maintain them by Violence. Hence the endleſs Fears, and Inſecurity of Conquerors and Oppreſſors, and the many Conſpiracies againſt them;

Sine Cede & Sanguine pauci ——

Such therefore is the bitter Fruit, and ſuch often is the terrible and bloody End of ſuch wild and pernicious Purſuits. No wiſe Man would, for the Empire of the Earth, live in perpetual or ſtrong Apprehenſions of any kind, much leſs under a tormenting Opinion, that whole Nations deteſted him, and ſought his Life for making them miſerable, as Conquerors always do, and muſt conſequently be conſidered by them as their worſt Enemies.

But the ſtrange Madneſs of Conqueſt appears from another Conſideration, namely, that there is not a Prince in the World, let his Territory be ever ſo ſmall, but muſt find full Employment to govern it, if he governs it as he ſhould do; and therefore there never was a great Empire ſo well governed as private Cities; and no City ſo well as private Families. Where the Governed are but few, or live in little Compaſs, the Eye of the Magiſtrate is over them, and the Eye of the Law over him, where he is not above it: Complaints can be eaſily examined, and Violence and Injuſtice be quickly overtaken, or readily prevented. But in wide and over-grown Empires, eſpecially where All depends upon the Will and Care of One, let his Heart be ever ſo upright,

right, a Thouſand Evils and Injuries will be done, which he can never hear of, nor they who ſuffer them have the Means of repreſenting to him; and which probably are done or connived at by his own Deputies, whom he employs to prevent or puniſh them.

All Princes have indeed more Buſineſs than they can well do; and when they look out for new Buſineſs, they muſt neglect the old, and throw off neceſſary Cares, to aſſume wanton ones, inconſiſtent with the other. Harmleſs Amuſements they ought to have; and whatever Amuſements thoſe are, is all one to their People, provided the general Security be conſulted, and Property and Peace be preſerved. But to embark in Wars, and make Conqueſts at the Expence of the People, and not for the People, is a prepoſterous Way of protecting them; and of fulfilling the Duties of Reigning. Such a War was that of *Troy*; where all the Princes of *Greece*, leaving their ſeveral States in a State of Anarchy, and draining off their braveſt Men, beat their Heads againſt Stone Walls for Ten Years together, becauſe theſe Walls contained, as they were told, a *Greek* Beauty who was a great Strumpet. And having ſacrificed their Time, their Navy, and the Forces of their Country, to this wiſe Reſentment, at laſt, by a Stratagem, they got their chaſte and important Prize, and for Joy and Anger, burnt the City, putting the King and all the Inhabitants, who had done them no Wrong, to the Sword.

Moſt of the Wars in the Word have been *Trojan* Wars; but moſt particularly thoſe in the

the *Holy Land*, whither moſt of the Princes in Chriſtendom made lunatick and ruinous Expeditions, to reſcue from the *Saracens* a Grave which could not be known from other Graves. Great Preparations were lately made for a *Trojan* War at *Aſtracan*; and in *Italy* a *Trojan* War is apprehended. We too, ſince the Reigns of the *Plantagenets*, have had our *Trojan* Wars; and our *Engliſh Ajaxes* and *Achilles's* have fought many bloody Battles, in which *England* had no other Intereſt, but the inward Satisfaction and Glory of loſing its Men and Money.

Conqueſt, or Fighting for Territory, is, for the moſt part, the moſt ſhameleſs Thing in the World. Government is either deſigned for the People's Good, or elſe I know not what Buſineſs it has in the World: And therefore in all Conteſts among Conquerors about Territory, if natural Juſtice and common Senſe were to decide it, that Prince ought to carry it, who can ſatisfy the People that he will uſe them beſt. And ſometimes they all vouchſafe to promiſe this, tho' very few of them perform it. But this Conſideration, which ought to be the only one, and is perhaps uſed by them in their Manifeſto's, has not the leaſt Weight with moſt of them. On the contrary, their chief Argument to move People, is often the moſt ridiculous, ſtupid, and abſurd, of all others, and really concerns the People the leaſt of any other. As to the great Point of uſing the People well. and promoting their Poſterity, theſe are Conſiderations ſo much below the Thoughts of your Conquerors, and ſo oppoſite to their Practice, that if the People were to throw Dice

Dice for one of them, they would do as wiſely as if they choſe him by deliberate Voices, if they were at Liberty to chuſe him, ſince there is rarely a better or a worſe amongſt them. And therefore the *Perſian* Nobles did not amiſs, when they delegated the Choice of ſuch a Sovereign to the Horſes they rode. If *Philip* II. of *Spain* had in the leaſt aimed at governing the Seven Provinces for *their* Good, he would never have diſturbed their Revolt, ſince he might ſee that they proſpered a thouſand times faſter without him than ever they could with him. But as this reaſonable and beneficent Thought had no Authority with him, he exhauſted in vain the Forces of that great Monarchy, to reduce thoſe new States under his Tyranny, and to make them as wretched and deſolate as he made his other Dominions.

I am, &c.

SIR,

MEN do, for the Sake of their Poſterity, many Things, which, they tell us, they would not do for their own Sake. The Wealth which they do not ſpend, they lay up for Poſterity; and their Care for Poſterity is made a Pretence, to juſtify all the Acquiſitions they make of Fortune and Dominion. But this is falſe Reaſoning, tho' by it they often deceive themſelves and others: They find that they have greater Appetites to acquire Wealth than they

they have to enjoy it; and not being able to deny, that Wealth is only ſo far uſeful as it is enjoy'd, and no farther, they cannot juſtify their Conduct, but by furniſhing themſelves with a falſe Excuſe from their Regard for Poſterity: As if the Affections of Men could be ſtronger for others, and for a future Race, of whom they know nothing, or for ſuch as perhaps may never exiſt, than for themſelves. Doubtleſs Men are in no Circumſtances to be ſeparated from themſelves: They are ever the chief Objects of their own Tenderneſs and good Wiſhes; and the Love of Poſterity is only Self-love, continued beyond the Grave. We ſee thoſe who have no Poſterity, nor the Proſpect of any, engaged in the ſame paſſionate and greedy Purſuits as thoſe who have; and they often leave their Eſtates, when they die, to thoſe for whom, while they lived, they ſhewed no Concern.

This Ambition therefore amongſt Men of leaving an illuſtrious Poſterity, is meer Self-love; a Paſſion to ſurvive themſelves, and to make a Figure after they are dead. To gratify this Paſſion, Men in all Stations often take wild and unaccountable Courſes: They employ great Pains for that which they can never enjoy, and run many Dangers for what they will never reap: They drudge, and laboriouſly contrive Ways to wear themſelves out, and deny themſelves Reſt and Eaſe, and the Comforts of Life, that ſome future Men, whom they know not, may live in Idleneſs and Abundance, and perhaps deſpiſe theſe their careful and penurious An-

Anceſtors, who painfully provided for them the Means of Luxury, and enabled them to be inſolent, or debauched, or inſignificant to Society. They are indeed generally but even with one another. The Deſcendent receives, without Gratitude, an Eſtate which his Anceſtor left him without Affection. People would take it greatly amiſs, if you ſuppoſed that they wanted Honour for their Anceſtors, or Regard to their Poſterity, and that they themſelves are the only real Objects of all this Regard, and of that Honour. But let them ask themſelves, Whether they would reſtore to their Grandfather again the Eſtate which he left them, were he to riſe from the Dead, and demand it? or, Whether they are willing to part with it to their Children before their own Death? or, if they ſometimes do, Whether they have not other Motives beſides paternal Affection? and, Whether their own Credit and Vanity be not the ſtrongeſt?

Thus Men gratify their own Tempers, and invent fine falſe Reaſons and ſpecious Names for what they do. A Paſſion for Poſterity, is a Paſſion for Fame; and he who raiſes a Family, conſiders his Race as hereditary Truſtees for his Name and Grandeur, and as the proper Means and Channel for perpetuating himſelf. Nor does he carry about him an Appetite more ſelfiſh and perſonal than this. So that all the wicked Things which a Man does to raiſe a Poſterity, are but ſo many infamous Steps to acquire perſonal Fame, which he will never arrive at; and does therefore but labour againſt the very End which he labours for. If his Po-

ſterity prove good, it will be remembred to their Praiſe, and his Shame, what a vile Anceſtor they had: If they prove bad, it will not be forgot how much they reſemble him; and he will become ſtill more odious in his odious Deſcendents. Even the wiſeſt Men do a fooliſh Thing, when they employ great Aſſiduity and Care to leave a great Eſtate to a Random-Heir, whom Nature, or Chance, or the Law gives them. How many immenſe Eſtates, gathered in a long Courſe of Years and Application, have we ſeen thrown away ſuddenly upon Harlots and Sharpers! The Acquiſitions of half a Century have diſappeared, as it were, in a Moment; and the chief remaining Monuments of the Founder's Name were Jeſts made upon his Memory.

But of all the fooliſh and wicked Ways of raiſing Families, none equals that of raiſing them upon the Ruins of publick Liberty. The general Security is the only certain Security of Particulars; and tho' deſperate Men often find Safety in publick Deſtruction, yet they cannot enſure the ſame Safety to their Children, who muſt ſuffer with the reſt in the Miſery of all. If Great wicked Men would conſider this, the World would not be plagued with their Ambition. Their Poſterity ſcarce ever miſs to reap the bitter Fruits of their Actions; and the Curſe of their Iniquities rarely fails to follow them to the third and fourth Generation.

The Inſtruments of publick Ruin have generally at once entailed Miſery upon their Country, and upon their own Race. Thoſe who were the Inſtruments and Miniſters of *Ceſar* and

and *Auguſtus*, and put the Commonwealth under their Feet, and them above the Laws, did not conſider, that they were not only forging Chains for their Country, but whetting Swords againſt their own Families, who were all cut off under ſucceeding Tyrants: Nay, moſt of their Children fell early and bloody Sacrifices to the cruel and ſuſpicious Spirit of *Tiberius*. He began his Reign with the Murder of young *Agrippa*, whoſe Father had, by his Courage and Conduct in War, eſtabliſhed the Tyranny in that Houſe. What availed to *Agrippa* all his great Riches, his ſumptuous Buildings, and even his near Alliance with the Prince, whoſe Daughter he married, but to haſten and magnify the Fall and Deſtruction of his Houſe? There was not one *Roman* Family wickedly enriched by their baſe Subſerviency to *Auguſtus*, but was ſlaughtered and confiſcated under his Succeſſors, and moſt of them under his immediate Succeſſor: Nay, their Riches and Splendor were Reaſons for deſtroying them. The freed Slaves of the Emperors grew afterwards the firſt Men in *Rome*, and had at their Mercy the Heads and Eſtates of the *Patricians*; nor could any of the great *Roman* Lords come into any Poſt or Office in their own Empire, but by the Pleaſure and Permiſſion of thoſe Slaves, and by ſervile Court paid to them.

Would their illuſtrious Anceſtors, who were the Friends and Abettors of *Cæſar*, have done as they did, had they foreſeen this vile Subſerviency of their Poſterity to Slaves and Pathicks, and the daily and wanton Sacrifices made of their boaſted Blood? And yet was

not all this eaſily to be foreſeen? While they were arming him with a Power over their Country, they diſarm'd themſelves of all Title to their Lives and Eſtates. By laying up Riches for their Families, they did but lay Snares for the Ruin of their Families. It grew a Crime under theſe Tyrants, to be conſpicuous for any thing; and Riches, Virtue, Eloquence, Courage, Reputation, nay, Names and Accidents, became Crimes. Men, and even Women, were put to Death for having had illuſtrious Anceſtors; and ſome for bearing the fortuitous Sirnames of Great Men dead an hundred Years before.

So that theſe Men, who, from the Bait of preſent Wealth and Place, helped to overthrow the Conſtitution of that great State, were not only the Parricides of their Country, but the Murderers of their own Children and Families, by putting a lawleſs Dagger into the Hands of theſe Tyrants to execute theſe Murders. They ſold their own Blood and Poſterity to theſe imperial Butchers, whoſe chief Employment it was to ſhed it. Theſe miſtaken Men might flatter and blind themſelves with a Conceit, that they were laying up Riches for Ages, and entailing Honours upon their lateſt Race; for what is ſo blind as Ambition and Avarice? But to their unhappy Deſcendents it proved a terrible Inheritance of Servitude, Exile, Tortures and Maſſacre. What they meant to perpetuate their Fortune and Race, were the firſt Things ſeized and extirpated. They had been real Traytors, to make their Children great; and their Children were put to Death for falſe Treaſon,

Treaſon, meerly for being great. So nearly are Puniſhments allied to Crimes, and ſo naturally do they riſe from them.

Thus raſh and unadviſed, even as to themſelves and their own Families, are theſe wicked Men, who raiſe up an enormous Power in their Country, becauſe they wear its Livery, and are for ſome Time indulged by it in their own Pride and Oppreſſions! And ſo ungrateful is that Power when it is raiſed, even to the Props and Inſtruments that raiſed it! They themſelves are often cruſhed to Death by it, and their Poſterity certainly are.

This may ſerve, among other Arguments, to prove, that Men ought to be virtuous, juſt, and good, for their own Sake, and that of their Families; and eſpecially great Men, whoſe laſting Security is beſt found in the general Security. *Pericles* had long and arbitrarily laviſhed away the publick Money, to buy Creatures and perpetuate his Power; and dreading to give up his Accounts, which the *Athenians* began to call for, thought he had no other Way to avoid doing this Juſtice to his Country, but by adding another great Crime to his paſt Crimes. He would venture the Ruin of the Commonwealth, rather than be accountable to it: He therefore throwed all Things into Confuſion, raiſed Armies, and entered precipitately into a War with *Lacedæmon*; which after much Blood, Miſery, and Deſolation, ended in the Captivity of his Country. During that War he died of the Plague, which the War was thought to occaſion; and to his Pride and Guilt alone were owing the Plague, War, and

the taking of *Athens*, with the Deſolation of the City and Territory. Before he died, he felt the Loſs of his whole Family, and of all his Friends and Relations, and doubtleſs foreſaw the Downfall of his Country. What huge and complicated Ruin! He would ſee the State ſink, rather than loſe his Authority in it: But in the Deſtruction of his Country, his own was juſtly and naturally involved. Where was now the great, the politick, the eloquent *Pericles*? Where was the proud State which he had long and haughtily ſway'd? Where was his Family and Race? Where were all his mighty future Views? Why, the Sword, the Peſtilence, and foreign Conqueſt, had by his own Management put a doleful End to them all; and his Wiſdom and profound Foreſight proved miſerable and ruinous Folly.

I am, &c.

SIR,

AS I do not pretend to be inſpired myſelf, nor am ſenſible that I have received any perſonal Revelation concerning the Whore of *Babylon*, nor to have Skill enough in the Apocalypſe to diſcover the exact Time of the Fall of Antichriſt; ſo I ſhall leave that Search to the profound Perſons who are learned in prophetick Knowledge; but would humbly adviſe them to uſe a little of their own Endeavours to demoliſh the Harlot, and not to expect the whole from Providence.

And

And to encourage them in this Undertaking, I ſhall attempt to ſhew in this Paper, what is told us in the Homilies, That *ſhe is old and withered*, and would have long ſince fallen to pieces, if ſhe had not been patched with Searcloths, and kept alive by Cordials, adminiſtered by the Charity of thoſe who were, or ought to have been, her Enemies; and that as ſoon as they leave off their Complaiſance, give her no more Phyſick, nor adopt her Trumpery, her End will be certain: And this I ſhall attempt to prove from natural Cauſes, leaving the ſupernatural ones to thoſe who underſtand them better.

It has been more than once ſaid in theſe Letters, that Population, Labour, Riches, and Power, mutually procure one another, and always go together; that where there are but few People, and thoſe few are not employed, there will be little Wealth, and as little Power; and conſequently, thoſe Governments, which provide leaſt for the Increaſe of their People, and for the Employment of thoſe they have, are leſs capable of annoying their Enemies, or of preſerving themſelves. Now, if we try the Power of Proteſtant and Popiſh States by this Teſt, it will appear abſolutely impoſſible that the latter can long ſubſiſt, if the former do not loſe their natural Advantages by political Blunders.

In the Popiſh States of *Europe*, there are a Million or more of Male Eccleſiaſticks, and almoſt as many of the other Sex, who by their Religion are hindered from Marriage, and conſequently from Procreation, unleſs by Stealth,

and ſpurious Births, which rarely produce living Children; and all, or moſt of theſe, ſubſiſt upon the Plunder of the People, without contributing any thing to the Publick Wealth, either by their Labour, or out of their immenſe Revenues, which are uſually exempted from Taxes, as are their Perſons from Wars; but, on the contrary, they have no other Buſineſs, but to faſcinate and turn the Brains of weak and enthuſiaſtick People, and to make them loiter after Maſſes and uſeleſs Harangues, and to fill their Heads with ſenſeleſs Speculations and wild Chimera's, which make them either uſeleſs or dangerous to their Governors, and the ready Tools and Inſtruments of turbulent and ſeditious Pedants; which Evil is, or ſhould be, better provided againſt in all Proteſtant States.

In Popiſh Countries, one third Part of the Year, or more, is ſpent in moſt religiouſly worſhipping dead Men and Women under the Name of Saints; in all which Time the People dare not work to ſupport their Families, but muſt contribute, out of the little which remains, to pay their Oppreſſors for preaching them out of their Wits; and, by conſequence, the Publick loſes all that the People would earn in thoſe Days; whereas, in Proteſtant States, all, or moſt of this Trumpery, is laid aſide, and they moſt reaſonably judge, that Almighty God is not worſhipped by his Creatures ſtarving themſelves, and weakening their Country.

In Popiſh Countries the Power of the Eccleſiaſticks is ſo great, and their Revenues ſo large, that the Civil Authority is often not able to protect

protect its Subjects: The Prieſts, by the Inquiſition and various Cruelties, ſeize their Eſtates, drive away their Merchants and People, or ſtarve them at home, and frighten others from coming in their Room; ſo that their Princes are forced to keep Meaſures with them, connive at, ſubmit to, and ſupport their Tyranny, to be protected in their own Power; and, by ſo doing, their unhappy and undone Subjects are reduced to the Condition of their great Maſter, to be crucified between two Thieves. On the contrary, in Proteſtant States the Eccleſiaſticks are equally ſubject with the reſt of People to the Civil Power; are not ſo numerous, nor have ſo large Revenues, and thoſe Revenues are taxable; nor have they ſo much Power and Influence to miſlead their Hearers, and conſequently cannot do ſo much Miſchief, and if kept to their proper Buſineſs, may do much Good by their pious Examples, and by their godly Precepts.

In Popiſh Countries a great Part of the Year is ſpent in keeping *Lent*, and in Faſting-Days, when the People, by their Poverty, are reduced to live upon ſtinking or unwholeſome Food, whereby many of them periſh, and the reſt are weakened and enervated, and rendered unfit either for Labour or Procreation; and then ſucceeds a riotous Carnival, during which they are idle and debauched; and both theſe Extreams, in their Turns, produce Diſeaſes, Poverty, and Miſery; whereas in Proteſtant Countries the People live in regular Plenty, according to their Condition, keep themſelves in conſtant Labour and Exerciſe, and by ſuch

Means preſerve their Bodies in Health, and their Minds within their Bodies, without ſending them abroad a Viſion-hunting.

In Popiſh Countries great Quantities of Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which ought to circulate, and be uſed in Commerce, are buried as uſeleſly as when in the Mine; are applied to adorn Images and Churches, or are locked up in Caverns, and rendered unſerviceable to Mankind. This, forſooth, is called Devotion, and giving to God what he before gave to Men for their Uſe; and their Way of obeying him, is to make no Uſe of it; and to lodge it only where there can be an ill Uſe made of it. But I thank God this Superſtition is pretty well over in Proteſtant Countries, where the People (a few old Women and Dotards excepted) think their Riches are better employ'd to maintain their Families, Relations, and Friends, than to ſupport Idlers and Cynicks.

In Popiſh Countries, their Eccleſiaſticks, living in Idleneſs and Riot, muſt be more laſcivious than if otherwiſe employed; and by the Means of Confeſſions, and other ſecret Communications with Women, have better and frequenter Opportunities to debauch them themſelves, and to carry on Intrigues for others, whereby they break in upon the Peace of Families, and interrupt the Harmony which ought to accompany a married Eſtate. To prevent in a good meaſure which Miſchiefs, (ſince they are forbid to marry,) theſe States are neceſſitated to tolerate eſtabliſhed Courtezans under a Regulation, which hinders many others from marrying, debauches their Minds,

ruins

ruins their Eſtates. and enervates their Bodies' and yet gives few Children to the Commonwealth: Which Miſchief is well provided againſt in Proteſtant Countries; for there no Man is obliged to truſt his Wife with a Prieſt, and, for the moſt part, they find it convenient to marry themſelves; and a Bleſſing viſibly attends their Endeavours, no Rank of People being more obſerved to multiply their Species.

In Popiſh Countries many foreign Wars are raiſed and ſtirred up by the Pride and Ambition of the Eccleſiaſticks to increaſe their Power; and many domeſtick ones fomented for the ſame Reaſon, about the Power of the Pope, the Inveſtiture of Princes, the Immunities of the Clergy; and endleſs Contentions ariſe with the States they live under, about their peculiar Privileges, as well as conſtant Perſecutions againſt all who oppoſe their Pretences: All which Wars and Quarrels exhauſt the People, perplex the publick Affairs, and either divide them into Factions, or, which is much worſe, make them all of their own. But in Proteſtant Countries theſe Evils are leſs enormous: The People begin to ſee with their own Eyes, and will not undo one another to gratify the Ambition of any who would oppreſs them all; nor force or drive out of their Country uſeful Inhabitants, for dry Chimera's and uſeleſs Notions, and for the Shape of their Thoughts, and Imaginations; and many of their Clergy do not deſire it.

In Popiſh Countries, great Numbers of idle and uſeleſs Members of Society are employed

to

to ſupport the Luxury of the Eccleſiaſticks, or to contribute to their Superſtition; as Organiſts, Fidlers, Singers, Scholars as they are called, numerous Officers of various Kinds, and many lazy Beggars, who feed upon their Scraps, or are ſupported by their Means out of the Charity of others, who are perſwaded that they ſerve God in keeping them idle and neceſſitous, and without labouring for a Subſiſtance: All theſe are a dead Weight upon Society, live like Drones in a Hive, and eat Honey without making any. This Grievance is not ſo great in Proteſtant Countries, the Clergy amongſt them not being uſed to throw away their Money without having ſomething for it.

In Popiſh Countries there is an Aſylum and Sanctuary in every Pariſh, where Robbers, Murderers, and all ſorts of Criminals, are defended againſt their Sovereigns and their Laws; by which Means Banditti and Aſſaſſins are become a ſort of Eſtabliſhment, and are the Swiſs and Guards of the Papacy, depend upon the Prieſts for Protection, and are always at hand to execute their bloody Deſigns, and to partake of the Spoil, as well as to be hired by others, by which Means there are numerous and nightly Murders in thoſe Countries, and the People there dare not go about their neceſſary Affairs; and therefore cannot have the ſame Security and Encouragement as in Proteſtant Countries, where this enormous Wickedneſs is not allowed and practiſed, and where the Prieſts cannot protect Aſſaſſins; and the worſt that can be ſaid of any of them is, that they won't find fault with them afterwards, but

but are ready to abſolve them at the Gallows if they have been doing their Work: And in one Inſtance, in a certain Juriſdiction, where a certain High-Prieſt, or thoſe who act under him, compound with Delinquents by the Great for Crimes they have committed, or are to commit for the Year enſuing; *alamode* of his Holineſs at *Rome*.

Theſe, and infinite other Evils, are produced by the Popiſh Religion, which depopulates Nations, deſtroys Induſtry, overturns Law and Juſtice, the Cements of Society, diſcourages Trade, drives out Merchants, enervates States, and renders the Race of Mankind feeble, lazy, and miſerable: Nor can I ſee a bare Poſſibility how theſe wretched People can extricate themſelves out of their doleful Condition, which muſt ſtill go on from bad to worſe, till they become ſo weak as to be the Prey of foreign Enemies, or to expire by an internal Conſumption; for the Power of the Eccleſiaſticks is ſo great, and depends ſo much upon keeping the Layety poor, ignorant, idle, and helpleſs, that they cannot have the Will or Power to recover themſelves.

This wicked Policy has turned the *Campania* of *Rome*, and all the populous and fertile Provinces of *Italy*, into Boggs, Moraſſes, and Deſarts, and would have long ſince extinguiſhed Popery, if ſome of the Proteſtant States had not forgot the Principles upon which they had reformed, and others had not ſubmitted to domeſtick Slavery, but little worſe than Eccleſiaſtical, as both flowing from the ſame Root, and producing the ſame Evils, tho' not in the

ſame

ſame Degree; however, I think the Cataſtrophe of Popery is but a little farther removed, for the few States amongſt the Proteſtants, with prudent Laws, and a wiſe Conduct alone, may be in a Condition, if they can keep their Liberty, without ſtriking a Stroke but in their own Defence, to demoliſh and overturn this monſtrous *Babel*, or make or ſuffer it to deſtroy itſelf.

I am, &c.

SIR,

ONLY the Checks put upon Magiſtrates make Nations free; and only the Want of ſuch Checks makes them Slaves. They are free, where their Magiſtrates are confined within certain Bounds ſet them by the People, and act by Rules preſcribed them by the People: And they are Slaves, where their Magiſtrates chuſe their own Rules, and follow their Luſt and Humours; than which, a more dreadful Curſe can befal no People; nor did ever any Magiſtrate do what he pleaſed, but the People were undone by his Pleaſure; and therefore moſt Nations in the World are undone, and thoſe Nations only who bridle their Governours do not wear Chains.

Unlimited Power is ſo wild and monſtrous a Thing, that however natural it be to deſire it, it is as natural to oppoſe it; nor ought it to be truſted with any mortal Man, be his Intentions

tentions ever ſo upright: For, beſides that he will never care to part with it, he will rarely dare. In ſpight of himſelf he will make many Enemies, againſt whom he will be protected only by his Power, or at leaſt think himſelf beſt protected by it. The frequent and unforeſeen Neceſſities of his Affairs, and frequent Difficulties and Oppoſition, will force him, for his own Preſervation, or for the Preſervation of his Power, to try Expedients, to tempt Dangers, and to do Things which he did not foreſee, nor intend, and perhaps, in the Beginning, abhorred.

We know, by infinite Examples and Experience, that Men poſſeſſed of Power, rather than part with it, will do any thing, even the worſt and the blackeſt, to keep it; and ſcarce ever any Man upon Earth went out of it as long as he could carry every thing his own Way in it; and when he could not, he reſigned. I doubt there is not one Exception in the World to this Rule; and that *Dioclesian*, *Charles* the Fifth, and even *Sylla*, laid down their Power out of Pique and Diſcontent, and from Oppoſition and Diſappointment. This ſeems certain, That the Good of the World, or of their People, was not one of their Motives either for continuing in Power, or for quitting it.

It is the Nature of Power to be ever encroaching and converting every extraordinary Power, granted at particular Times, and upon particular Occaſions, into an ordinary Power, to be uſed at all Times, and when there is no Occaſion; nor does it ever part willingly with any Advantage. From this Spirit it is, that

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occaſional Commiſſions have grown ſometimes perpetual; that Three Years have been improved into Seven, and One into Twenty; and that when the People have done with their Magiſtrates, their Magiſtrates will not have done with the People.

The *Romans*, who knew this Evil, having ſuffered by it, provided wiſe Remedies againſt it; and when ordinary Power grew too great, checked it with another. Thus the Office and Power of the Tribunes was ſet up to ballance that of the Conſuls, and to protect the Populace againſt the Inſolence, Pride, and Intrenchments of the Nobility: And when the Authority of the Tribunes grew too formidable, a good Expedient was found out to reſtrain it; for in any turbulent or factious Deſign of the Tribunes, the Proteſt or Diſſent of any one of them made void the Purpoſes and Proceedings of all the reſt. And both the Conſuls and the Tribunes were choſen only for a Year.

Thus the *Romans* preſerved their Liberty by limiting the Time and Power of their Magiſtrates, and by making them anſwerable afterwards for their Behaviour in it: And beſides all this, there lay from the Magiſtrates an Appeal to the People; a Power which, however great, they generally uſed with eminent Modeſty and Mercy; and, like the People of other Nations, ſinned much ſeldomer than their Governours. Indeed, in any publick Diſorder, or Misfortune, the People are ſcarce ever in the Fault; but, far on the other Side, ſuffer often, with a criminal Patience, the ſore Evils brought

brought wantonly or fooliſhly upon them by others, whom they pay dear to prevent them.

This ſacred Right of appealing to the People, was ſecured to them by a very good and very ſevere Law, which is to be found in *Livy* in theſe Words: *Aliam deindè conſularem legem de provocatione, unicum præſidium Libertatis decemvirali poteſtate everſam, non reſtituunt modo, ſed etiam muniunt, ſanciendo novam legem*, ne quis ullum Magiſtratum ſine provocatione crearet: Qui creaſſet, eum Jus Faſque eſſet occidi: Neve Cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur. "The former conſular Law for appealing to "the People, (the firſt and only great Support "of Liberty) having been overturned by the "Uſurpation of the *Decemviri*, was now not "only reſtored, but fortified by a new Law, "*which forbad the creating of any Magiſtrate without Appeal, and made it lawful to kill any Man "that did ſo, without ſubjecting the Killer to a "capital Penalty.*" The *Romans* had but too good Reaſon for theſe Laws; for the *Decemviri*, from whom there was no Appeal, had enſlav'd them.

And becauſe the being frequently choſen into Power, might have Effects as bad as the long Continuance in it, *Cicero*, in his Book *De Legibus*, tells us, that there was an expreſs Law, *Eundem Magiſtratum, ni interfuerint decem Anni, ne quis Capito*; "That no Man ſhould bear "the ſame Magiſtracy which he had born be-"fore, but after an Interval of ten Years." This Law was afterwards ſtrengthened with ſevere Penalties. Hence *Rutilius Cenſorius* blamed the People in a publick Speech for creating

creating him twice *Cenſor*: And *Fabius Maximus* would have hindered them from chuſing his Son *Conſul*, tho' poſſeſſed of every Virtue proper for one, becauſe the chief Magiſtracies had been too long and too often in the *Fabian* Family. And there are many Inſtances in the *Roman* Hiſtory, of Magiſtrates, Chief Magiſtrates, being degraded for their Pride, Avarice, and Male-Adminiſtration; and thoſe who were thus degraded, were by Law diſabled, like our late Directors, from ever enjoying again any Poſt or Power. Nor were the *Romans* leſs careful to oblige their Magiſtrates, as ſoon as they came out of their Offices and Governments, to make up their Accounts, and to give a ſtrict Account of their good Behaviour; and for an ill one they were often condemned, and their Eſtates confiſcated. Beſides all which, to be a Senator, or a Magiſtrate, a certain Qualification in Point of Fortune was required; and thoſe who had run through their Fortunes, were degraded from the Dignity of Senators — A reaſonable Precaution, that they who were entruſted with the Intereſt of their Country, ſhould have ſome Intereſt of their own in it!

In this Manner did the *Roman* People check Power, and thoſe who had it; and when any Power was grown quite ungovernable, they aboliſhed it. Thus they expelled *Tarquin*, and the Kingly Government, having firſt ſuffered much by it; and they proſpered as eminently without it. That Government too had been extremely limited: The firſt *Roman* Kings were little more than Generals for Life: They had no negative Vote in the Senate, and could neither

neither make War nor Peace; and even in the Execution of Juſtice, an Appeal lay from them to the People, as is manifeſt in the Caſe of the ſurviving *Horatius*, who ſlew his Siſter. *Servius Tullus* made Laws, ſays *Tacitus*, *which even the Kings were to obey.* By confining the Power of the Crown within proper Bounds, he gained Power without Bounds in the Affections of the People. But the inſolent *Tarquin* broke through all Bounds, and acted ſo openly againſt Law, and the People of *Rome*, that they had no Remedy left but to expel him and his Race; which they did with glorious Succeſs.

The Dictatorial Power was afterwards given occaſionally, and found of great Uſe; but ſtill it was limited to ſo many Months; and there are Inſtances where even the Dictator could not do what he pleaſed, but was over-ruled by the Judgment of the People. Beſides, when the *Romans* came to have great and diſtant Territories, and great Armies, they thought the Dictatorial Power too great and too dangerous to be truſted with any Subject, and laid it quite aſide; nor was it ever afterwards uſed, till it was violently uſurped, firſt by *Sylla*, afterwards by *Cæſar*, and then *Rome* loſt its Liberty.

Iam, &c.

The End of the Third Volume.